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U.S. LABOR AFTER ONE YEAR OF TAFT-HARTLEY

THE VATICAN AND GERMANY
By PERCY WINNER

15¢

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ADVERTISEMENT

A YEAR OF TAFT-HARTLEY

WHEN THE TAFT-HARTLEY SLAVE LABOR BILL WAS BEING considered by the first session of the Eightieth Congress, labor leaders, legislators and yes, even industrialists, appeared before congressional committees in opposition to this vicious legislation and maintained it would not only take from laboring men and women their constitutional rights, but would make more difficult the peaceful settlement of disputes, create misunderstanding and conflict and aggravate the lack of balance between wages, prices and profits.

Proponents of the measure argued that time would prove that the bill was a good law; that it would reduce labor-management disputes while still protecting labor's rights, etc.

Well, in the first full year of operation, the Taft-Hartley Act has been tried and tested and found wanting. Even its sponsors and proponents have admitted that changes should be made in the law. Under the Act work stoppages increased to a total of 6,000,000 man days in March, 1948, as compared to 1,100,000 in March, 1947, and an average of 1,395,000 for the month of March during the years 1935 through 1939. On August 22, 1947, the National Labor Relations Board had 3,933 cases pending. By the end of February, 1948, the backlog had increased to 9,500. During the first 6 months of the Act's operation 7,717 petitions for union-shop elections were filed and it is estimated that 30,000 such petitions will be filed from July, 1948, through June, 1949. The fact that during the first 5 months of the Act's operation, unions won all but one-half of one per cent of the union-shop elections conducted by the Board and that the votes were favorable by an average of over 90 per cent indicates the fallacy of the sponsors' argument that the American worker is opposed to any form of so-called compulsory union membership.

*PERHAPS THE MOST VICIOUS PROVISION OF THE TAFT-*Hartley Act is the non-Communist, "I'm not a traitor" affidavit requirement which, by inference, presumes that all unions and their officers are guilty of being Communists and traitors unless they make an affidavit to the contrary. The employer doesn't have to swear that he is loyal, although a number of them were found to be disloyal during the last war.

The non-Communist affidavit requirement is an insult directed exclusively at organized labor, a body of men and women whose loyalty to America stands second to none. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and its officers have refused, as a matter of principle, to recognize this unfair and un-American provision of the Act. This has resulted in employers, through the subterfuge provided them by the affidavit requirement, denying to the Brotherhood its legitimate bargaining rights.

In negotiations for improved wages and working conditions with the Rockland Coaches, Inc., of New Jersey, where the Brotherhood has held the contract uninterruptedly for 11 years, the management went to the length of insisting on a union security clause, not of course, because it favored security for the Brotherhood, but because it knew full well that the Board would not hold an election due to our not filing the non-Communist affidavits. It then used this for an excuse to prolong negotiations which eventually resulted in a needless strike, a strike which would probably not have materialized under the Wagner Act before amendment.

The Kennecott Copper Corporation, Chino Mines Division, Santa Rita, New Mexico also took advantage of Taft-Hartley anti-union provisions to avoid their obligation to bargain with the Brotherhood. Following an election in 1946 the N.L.R.B. certified the Brotherhood as the bargaining agent for certain classes of employees (not coming under the Railway Labor Act) on this property. The ensuing agreement ran until June 12, 1946, and from year to year thereafter subject to proper notice of desire to terminate or change. However, since termination of the initial 2-year period the management now refuses to bargain with the Brotherhood until our officers have signed the odious un-American oath. They have even refused to confer with a representative of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, contending that the Taft-Hartley Act supports their position.

BOTH OF THE ABOVE CASES ARE FURTHER INDICATIONS that the Taft-Hartley Act promotes, rather than prevents, labor-management disputes and strikes, but perhaps the worst effect of the law is in preventing men from being represented by the union of their choice. At present the Brotherhood has requests from drivers on approximately 20 different bus lines to organize them and negotiate contracts the Taft-Hartley Act imposes needless delays and obstructions to our response to their requests.

The original Wagner Act was the Magna Charta of Labor. It sought to give labor an equality in bargaining power and the opportunity to obtain a fair share in the proceeds of industry. The Taft-Hartley Act pays lip service to these ideals and then immediately proceeds to take them all away. Its secondary boycott provision, in its effect, often compels unions to contribute to their own destruction. It brings back government by injunction and invades constitutional rights by prohibitions against union political activities. It restricts collective bargaining and promotes litigation. It has made necessary huge expenditures by trade unions, not required under the Wagner Act, in order to carry on the business which is their principal reason for existence.

After a year of operation the Taft-Hartley Act stands revealed in all its nakedness as an instrument deliberately designed to destroy organized labor and reduce it to the status of slavery. There can be only one cure and that is its outright repeal.

A. F. Whitney

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

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ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Thomas Whiteside, Myriam Wilson

STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, James R. Newman, Richard Watts Jr.

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ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Josephine Murray

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RESEARCH: Elizabeth L. Gardner, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant

ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

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WASHINGTON WIRE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN is a brave man. He plans now to make a rip-roaring campaign tour in the Deep South. The tentative schedule calls for him to cross the Potomac by train in mid-September and to go as far west as Texas. Democratic leaders apparently have decided that it is the thing to do—and the way to attract attention at the start of the uphill fight for reëlection.

The President's advisers have sold him on the idea that he must wage an unorthodox campaign, that he has nothing to lose and everything to gain by barnstorming in enemy lands and conducting an aggressive fight from beginning to end.

Republican strategy, on the other hand, is to lay low for as long as possible. Governor Dewey has been in semi-retirement. His campaign managers do not want to shake the boat. They are banking on an easy victory following a carefully planned and orthodox campaign. From their point of view, the strategy is sound

Both Dewey and Wallace, as well as the President, will campaign in the South. For them it will be easier than for the President, against whom the South's anger is directed. Will Southern politicians want to be seen with Truman? Will Southern organizations sponsor his visit? Will he, like Wallace, insist upon non-segregated audiences? Will he speak on civil rights?

The hazards for the Presdent are as great as the possible benefits. But whatever happens, the whole country, not just the South, will be interested in his Southern campaign.

Truman's choice of aides seems about to get him into hot water once more. Charles Sawyer, his Secretary of Commerce, has twice hinted at disagreements with the President. At his first press conference, Sawyer made it clear he did not endorse the President's anti-inflation program.

Then, laboring the point that he was not an isolationist, Sawyer said it was time to think more about the American economy than Europe's economy. Finally, the Secretary blurted forth that it was time to give more protection to the American housewife.

"As a means of assuring full protection to the domestic economy while meeting foreign commitments," Sawyer has created an Advisory Committee on Requirements to keep him informed about supply and requirements programs.

Sawyer, of course, professes innocence and full support to the Administration's foreign-aid program, but why does the President pick men who refuse to throw themselves wholeheartedly behind him?

Hope for passage of the greatly needed federal-aid-for-education bill died with the special session of Congress. If the Republicans win in November it may be years before the measure again will receive serious consideration. It came within an inch of passing the 80th Congress; it had passed the Senate and there was strong sentiment for it in the House. All it needed was one thing—a word from Speaker Martin that he would not oppose it.

Republican Joe Martin killed this bill which would have meant so much for the nation's schools. But it was opposed by some Southerners whose states sorely needed the funds it would provide. One of these was Senator Byrd of Virginia. He voted against it and his mouthpiece in Richmond, Governor Tuck, demagogued against it. Yet Virginia's schools are among the nation's worst. Across the river from the nation's Capital, first and second graders receive only two hours of schooling a day. One recent education survey put Virginia forty-second in the list of states, with Mississippi, Ala-

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bama, Louisiana and South Carolina all having better ratings.

Last week Tuck said Virginia's school needs were "exaggerated." It's a far cry from the Virginia of today to the Virginia of 150 years ago!

You would think that in an election year the Republicans would send Representative Halleck on a survey trip to Outer Mongolia. He has been wrong with greater consistency than almost any of his intrepid colleagues. His isolationism is of the purest kind. Yet it is this same Halleck who is picked to make major attacks on the Administration. If Halleck had had his way the country could never have met the Hitler menace nor could it have made its fight to keep Europe out of Communist hands. But Halleck now denounces the Administration for "coddling" Soviet Russia. He says that New Deal "failures" in foreign relations are responsible for the huge defense bill of 1948. And he finds the "root cause" of high prices in "the betrayals at Quebec, Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam."

This is the man who occupies the second highest position in the House and who will be one of the key men in the Dewey Administration.

Notes. Trade with Russia has almost ceased. American exports to Russia in June were less than $50,000. A year ago they averaged about $7 million a month. Imports from Russia into the US, however, still are about normal or above $7 million a month. . . Governor Dewey's proposal for the former Italian colonies follows exactly the Moscow party line. By the way, Governor, how did you know during the war that the government had broken the Japanese code? That's a leak which might be worth investigating, too. . . . Treasury friends of the late Harry D. White insist that he was one of the most ardent aid-to-the-allies officials in the government from 1939 to the end of the war. . . . Paul Hoffman's recent tough crackdown on Argentina failed to receive the attention—or the praise—it deserved.

Washington T. R. B.

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THE WEEK

Plans for the Fall Roundup

THOMAS E. DEWEY is not the victim of overconfidence. The rest of the Republican Party may be dead certain that he will win in a breeze this November, but the Republican candidate himself is taking no chances. His campaign plans are being laid with the utmost care to ensnare every possible stray voter. There is to be no skimping on the expenditure of either energy or money. And no opportunity is to be missed to consolidate this year's campaign work into a permanent organization for Dewey all across the nation.

Dewey-manager Herbert Brownell Jr. would not have been criticized by the experts had he decided to leave most of the responsibility for electing his candidate to the state machines. With Republicans in the Governor's chairs in all the pivotal states, the GOP organization is in excellent condition nationally. But in addition a battery of expensive special divisions is being set up in Dewey headquarters to go after the independent voters, the minorities and other such elusive groups.

Dewey has manfully swallowed his hurt pride and asked Victor Johnson, the able operator who directed the drubbing Stassen gave Dewey in the Wisconsin primary last spring, to run the appeal to independent voters. Johnson's assignment is to build permanent party machinery for Dewey among this group along the lines of the "Neighbors for Stassen" clubs he helped develop for the Minnesota Governor. He has been promised all the money he needs to do the job right. The doors at Albany and at Pawling have been swinging wide and frequently for any representative of an organized nationality group, however small in numbers.

The prudent Dewey clearly has one eye on 1952 even while he battles to win in 1948. If, after election, he is not to be the captive of the right-wing Republicans who controlled the 80th Congress, he must turn the November elections into a real personal triumph. If he is to avoid any challenge by the party mossbacks in 1952, he must establish himself as the boss beginning with 1949. Dewey, therefore, passionately desires a landslide victory over Truman.

Aware that Earl Warren's human touch can be a big help with many voters, the Dewey forces have assigned the California Governor to cover all parts of the country, not just the West. And recognizing that the Roosevelt landslides were made in the large industrial cities of the country, Dewey will concentrate more than previous Republican candidates on metropolitan appearances. Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Wyoming, Minnesota and Idaho (all of which have senatorial contests this year) also will get plenty of attention. Dewey won't miss such a chance to obligate prospective Senators to him personally.

From here on, third terms in the White House are probably out. (Twenty-one states have already ratified the proposed constitutional amendment limiting Presidents to two terms.) But Tom Dewey is starting early to make sure he gets all that the law will allow.

Meanwhile Harry Truman finally has overridden those of his advisers who wanted him to concentrate on campaigning in a few big cities. Plans that will take him into every part of the country and keep him on the road almost constantly until election day are nearly complete.

After his campaign debut on Labor Day, before the union members of Detroit, Truman will tempt fate with a trip into the heartland of his Dixiecrat enemies. Birmingham, New Orleans and some Texas town will be the probable stops. Chairman McGrath has insisted all along that Truman could hold the greater part of the South, and the President apparently agrees that it is worth trying. Aside from McGrath, however, the more experienced politicians around the President break into a cold sweat when they think of the ruinous things that might happen down South if the advance work is done with anything less than consummate skill. There is no one on the National Committee or the White House staff, they mourn, skilled enough in this tricky kind of work to get the presidential party beyond Richmond without probable mishaps. But Truman and McGrath seem to have unlimited faith in the lengths to which "Southern hospitality" will go for their benefit.

WATERFRONT SHOWDOWN

Under ordinary circumstances, a settlement between the operators and the union in one part of the embattled maritime industry would be likely to be followed by a similar settlement in the other part as well. A strike of dock and ship workers along the Atlantic Coast has been barely averted by new agreements between the shipowners and the Seafarers' International Union (AFL), and the National Maritime Union (CIO). These provide for wage increases of $12.50 and more per month, plus other benefits. But the chances are that neither Harry

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Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) nor the Pacific Coast shipowners will follow the lead of their Eastern counterparts.

Both Bridges and the operators are playing for bigger stakes. The operators think that they have isolated Bridges from the major part of the maritime industry this time, and they are out to crush him once and for all. Bridges knows that his prestige in the industry, in the CIO and in liberal politics depends upon his getting more for his men than the Eastern leaders were able to get. Bridges and the CIO group he leads are against Harry Truman, against the Marshall Plan and against Joe Curran, the National Maritime president who has joined the anti-Bridges faction in the CIO. A successful West Coast shipping strike at this time would be bad news to all three.

From the moment in mid-June when the government first applied for a strike injunction against the maritime workers under the Taft-Hartley Act, Bridges has made it clear that he would not coöperate in any way. He has said that he will fight the T-H law at every turn, and this is his first chance. Under the law the employers have made their "last offer" to the longshoremen—a five-cents-an-hour pay increase for dock workers, plus an additional five cents an hour for surrender of vacation privileges. The ILWU has sneered at it, contending that the offer adds up to an actual pay cut. The 60-day "cooling-off period" has expired, and the National Labor Relations Board is in the process of conducting a vote of the 15,000 longshoremen and 18,000 other maritime workers on whether or not the "last offer" is acceptable to them.

The unions say that submitting this offer to their membership would help the employers split the union. The ILWU is holding "stop work" meetings of the longshoremen to discuss the offer before the voting and has called an emergency, coastwide conference to plan strategy. It might decide to boycott the NLRB election entirely. In any event, Harry Bridges has warned the employers and the government that "as things stand now, I can guarantee a strike on the coast starting September 2."

On September 2, the injunction expires. At that time the NLRB, under the law, will then certify the election figures to the Attorney General. The Attorney General, following that, *must* ask the court for a discharge of the injunction. Harry Bridges will then be free to strike. It will be up to the White House at that point to make a very high policy decision on what happens next. Truman will have to decide whether to let the strikes run their course in hope of early settlement, ask for a new injunction, or attempt to keep the maritime industry running in some other way. Truman could just step out of the picture, leaving the Republicans to explain why their Taft-Hartley Act allows such national emergencies to keep recurring.

GOP GESTURE

After September 20, it will be slightly harder to buy things on the instalment plan. The Federal Reserve Board has used the authority given it by the special session to revive a diluted form of the wartime Regulation W, limiting the terms of consumer credit. A one-third down payment will be required on automobiles and 20 percent down on everything else. If the balance is less than $1,000 you have 15 months to pay up. If more than $1,000, you can take 18 months. Regulation W, which expired November, 1947, covered purchases from $50 to $2,000, but inflation has gone so far that in order to cover all makes of cars and expensive household gadgets the limit had to be raised to $5,000.

The new order is a useful measure, for easy consumer credit creates a ballooning demand, based on future earnings, which helps to jack up prices. But by itself it is futile. When the country wants credit, it is going to get it. And it wants it badly now, for the rising cost of living is forcing more and more people to buy on time. In the year before Regulation W expired, the pressure was already on, and instalment credit rose $2 billion. In the eight months from November until June 30, it rose another $1,738 million to a total of $7,192 million. Many household appliances and radios could be bought with 10 percent or less down and as much as three years to pay. The best that can be hoped from the new ruling is that the end of such easy terms will slow the rate of rise.

Fiscal experts expect the revived Regulation W to have little effect on the rise of credit and none at all on the over-all inflation picture. The trouble is that the demand for credit is now irresistible. The Federal Reserve Board has reported that 28 percent of US families are now spending more than they earn. The *Wall Street Journal* has just completed a survey of savings banks all over the East. The general report is that withdrawals are running ahead of deposits. The plain fact is that inflation has already gone so far that at least a third of the nation can only keep its financial head above water with fast dwindling savings and credit. And enterprising merchandisers are already preparing schemes to make sure that the credit will continue to flow around, through, over and under the new ruling, until it disappears like a single bag of sand in a torrent.

TEXAS MOVES AHEAD

AUSTIN (NR correspondent)

Next month the public schools of Texas will reopen for the fall term, and will soon reveal whether the state intends to live up to the recent court ruling forbidding discrimination against Mexican-American children. (Discrimination against Negroes, a different story, will still go on.)

In Texas, and throughout the Southwest, Mexican-American children have always, with few exceptions, been subject to discrimination. Frequently, it applies only to the first three grades; but this is meaningless, since most of

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these children drop out after the third grade. School buses are often reserved for Anglo-Saxon students; the pupils of Latin origin get inferior teachers, buildings, recreational and sanitary facilities. The excuse usually offered is that these children don't speak English; to remedy this, they are herded into schools where only Spanish is used.

The new court ruling, handed down recently by a federal judge, holds that segregation of these children violates the Fourteenth Amendment. In future, segregation is to be permitted only in the first grade, and then only long enough to teach the children the rudiments of the English language so that they can participate in normal classroom activities.

RANKIN ON THE RUN

TUPELO (NR correspondent)

They are getting ready to shelve Ole John Rankin here in Mississippi's First Congressional District. But Ole John, who has served continuously in the House of Representatives since 1921, thinks they're wrong. He predicts victory in the Democratic primary, which always means winning the election, too.

Here in his home town, the 66-year-old Rankin is no idol. In 1946 he lost his home county and this year the forecast is that he will lose it by a much greater margin. Two years ago Rankin was able to pick up enough strength in the northeastern section of the 10-county district to pull him through.

This time however there is a trap set for him. Claude Clayton, 38-year-old attorney and World War II army captain, who opposed and nearly beat Rankin last time, is back in the race. The gentlemanly attorney, also from Tupelo, is said to be even stronger today in this heavy voting section than two years ago.

Also in the race is mild-mannered Circuit Judge Raymond Jarvis of Booneville, who has the support in the northeast that Clayton had lacked in 1946. Jarvis, who is middle-aged and dignified, is a popular man in the district on his record as a jurist.

Both Clayton and Jarvis have been in the race since last November when Rankin showed that he was not invincible by running last in a five-man race for the Senate seat of the late Theodore G. Bilbo. Rankin, making his first statewide campaign in the Senate race, lost the backing of some of his key supporters by entering the race against their advice. Clayton and Jarvis have been waging aggressive campaigns all summer. Rankin had not made a speech in the district until Congress adjourned, but traditionally Ole John never begins a speaking campaign until a week or so before the election.

Strangely enough, Rankin, for all his race-baiting in Congress, doesn't pitch his campaign here on white supremacy because the district has fewer Negroes than any other in the state. But he always sells the voters a bill of goods on the threat of communism and his ability to detect un-American activities. This time he cites the civil-rights program as being Communist-promoted.

Without mentioning Rankin's name, Clayton has pointed out the need for someone in Congress "who can present your case in a sane and dignified manner." Where Rankin is a lone wolf among his colleagues, Clayton has promised to work to gain the respect of other members of Congress. Jarvis has made a particularly strong play for the farm vote.

CHARLES J. POST

OLE JOHN

COLD-WAR TREASON

Congressional and administrative officials are drafting stringent new laws against future "non-violent infiltration of Communists in the government." Whether the accusations of Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers are valid makes little difference, the government says, so far as legislation is concerned. Official secrets have "leaked" and new legislation must be enacted at this time to protect the future security of the country.

For over a year, the Department of Justice has attempted to work out a comprehensive internal-security bill. The task has been difficult since so many of the proposed provisions encroached upon the Bill of Rights. The measure now being considered would make it a felony to obtain or disclose any information that would injure the United States or be to the advantage of any foreign nation or to have unauthorized possession of "classified material."

By exempting all espionage cases from the statute of limitations, the new bill would allow federal prosecutors to bring charges against persons implicated in espionage at any time after the overt act had been committed. Federal agents would be free to tap telephone lines to gather espionage evidence. Government employees, already subject to rigid loyalty examinations, would be punished for failing to report that an official regulation has been broken.

Most of the provisions are, of course, highly controversial. For that reason, the Justice Department, working with the Army and Navy, is going more slowly and carefully than the members of the Un-American Activities Committee like. The Thomas committee, to prevent the Administration from getting any credit for opposing communism, has one of its staff working full-time on possible legisla-

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tion to be introduced in the 81st Congress. The Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill, shelved in the Senate last session after the Justice Department reported that it contained "grave questions of constitutionality," undoubtedly will be revived.

Senator Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) promised to spend the summer months working on his own bill, which he has said will provide for registration of groups defined by federal courts as "subversive" and provide criminal penalties for "cold-war treason," a term which would be specifically defined. Ferguson's bill would differ from the Mundt-Nixon measure in two major respects: the US District Courts instead of the Attorney General would determine which groups are subversive, and the criminal action involved would be more specific than that in the Mundt-Nixon bill, which merely makes it a crime to try to set up a foreign-dominated, totalitarian government.

SPLIT IN COLORADO

DENVER (NR correspondent)

The fight that has disrupted the Progressive Party of Colorado since early spring has come to an impasse that only Henry Wallace himself can settle. Intramural disagreement between two groups, one led by Charles Graham, Denver attorney and chairman of the Rocky Mountain Council for Social Action (forerunner of the third party in Colorado), and the other by Clark Vincent, secretary of the Council, finally came to an open split during the Progressive Party's organizing convention at the end of May.

Vincent and the far-left elements in the party, including the chairman of the state's Communist Party, Arthur Bary, were for an elite party organization, a relatively small, well-disciplined group of members, appealing to outside voters for support at election time. Graham and a majority of the third partyites with practical political experience argued passionately for the broadest possible base.

In his own speech to the Colorado founding convention, Henry Wallace spoke on Graham's side of the argument, warning the "people who want a party narrowly-based" that "we can't win the necessary votes unless we crusade among the principal groups of our people who have the idealism and the capacity for hard political work—the women's groups, the church groups, and the young people in our schools and colleges." But the breach continued to widen. Graham refused the chairmanship of the new party on grounds of personal business. The group Vincent represented continued in control, insisting that welcoming everyone to full-fledged membership would not work.

When the founding convention of the Progressive Party assembled in Philadelphia, Charles Graham, who had been named to the important Platform Committee, was absent. He had decided that the basic decision he was seeking probably must come from Wallace himself and that no good cause would ever be served by his indulging in skirmishes with lesser leaders.

Pending an answer to his direct appeal to Wallace, Graham and his followers (reportedly including one man supposed to have been expelled from the Communist Party for refusing to oppose the Graham position) are not withdrawing officially from the Colorado Progressive Party, but for all practical purposes they have already done so.

The old Denver Council for Social Action through which the group formerly functioned is still in existence, and they are dusting it off again as a vehicle on which to campaign for such liberals as Representative John Carroll for Congress, Governor Lee Knous for the US Senate and Arthur Brooks for the state senate. There are several other organizations which can be used to work for a constructive peace program, pending an answer from Wallace headquarters.

Meanwhile the Wallace party in New Mexico has developed similar troubles. Showing none of Graham's reticence, six leading members have resigned with a front-page attack on undue "Communist influence" in the new party. This one seems to be for keeps. The displaced Colorado liberals, however, will continue to hope for a while longer that they have lost their happy home in the Progressive Party only temporarily.

THE POPE AND GERMANY

ROME

The only place in Rome where the Berlin situation has been getting the same sort of intense, worried attention as in America is Vatican City. The Holy See does not want the Americans to be forced out of Berlin; nor does it want the American and British proponents of a more conciliatory stand toward the Russians in Germany to get the upper hand.

The reason is not merely that the Vatican is profoundly anti-Soviet and almost equally pro-American. There is an additional, indeed a more important, reason: Pope Pius XII has assigned to the goal of winning over the Germans to close and friendly relations with the Holy See a major place among the top purposes of Vatican foreign policy. Having lost a large amount of its once considerable political influence in Eastern Europe as a result of the spread of Soviet power, the Holy See is thus trying to find a means of compensation by winning over the Germans.

Hence it has begun taking an attitude of defense of the Germans—all of them, both Protestant and Catholic—in an effort to obtain for itself a decisive influence on the people who are regarded as still potentially the most powerful in Europe. If the 70 million Germans came directly within the sphere of Vatican political influence, they would make up for the loss of 50 million Catholics of various nationalities, spread from the Baltic to the Adriatic, who now, for all practical purposes, are cut off from the Church of Rome.

This attitude of the Pope in favor of the Germans was first made clear at the so-called Congress of Fulda, which last April for the first time after

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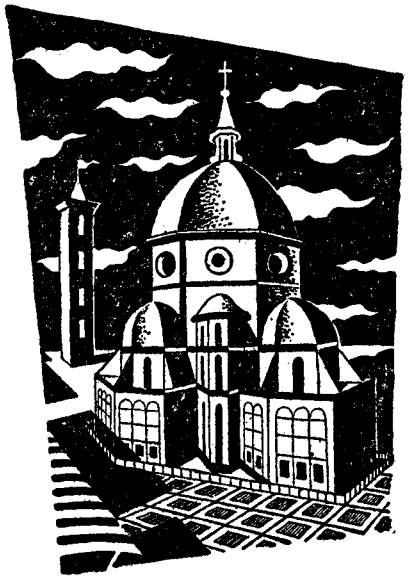
many centuries was held in Rome instead of in Germany. This Congress is one of the oldest institutions of Catholic life in Central Europe. For centuries it was the practice of the German cardinals and bishops to gather periodically in the historic monastery of Fulda to discuss religious and political questions, and to take a stand on them. Last April, the Pope called to Rome one after the other of the German cardinals and bishops, asking them to make their *ad limina* visits—the visits that every bishop makes to the Pope at the Vatican to inform him about the situation in his diocese.

Thus, this year, the Congress of Fulda was in fact a Congress of Rome. About thirty German prelates gathered at the Vatican under the presidency of Cardinal von Preysing, and the Pope participated personally in their deliberations. Soon after this meeting, the Pope sent the German clergy a message in which he virtually supported the rights of Germany to recover the territory taken away from her on her eastern borders, and condemned vigorously the expulsion of millions of Germans from this territory.

The next step in the Vatican's German campaign has just taken place. On the occasion of the celebration of the seventh centenary of the building of the Cologne Cathedral—the ceremonies began on August 15—the Pope sent to Cologne as his pontifical legate Clemente Cardinal Micara, and with him many other high dignitaries of the Vatican, escorted by members of the Pope's personal "Noble Guard."



HARRY DIX

Present also at the Cologne ceremonies were five other cardinals and a host of bishops and priests from all over Germany. Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna, Cardinal Suhard of Paris and Cardinal Griffin of Westminster were there with Cardinal Frings of Cologne. The importance of Micara's presence was underlined by the fact that he headed the first solemn pontifical mission to be sent to Germany in more than half a century. The last was sent by Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of the coronation of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1888.

Moreover, there is talk at the Vatican that the Pope may go further. The strongly pro-German letter he sent to Micara, appointing him to head the mission, was published very prominently by the official Vatican newspaper, the *Osservatore Romano*, on August 16.

It is also reported that the Pope will deliver, before the end of the ceremonies in Cologne, a personal message to the whole German people, broadcast by radio from the papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo. Already the report has stirred up protests in Poland where, it is said here, even Catholics are unhappy about the new Vatican "line" toward the Germans.

These protests might be dismissed as being forced upon Polish Catholics by the pro-Soviet government, but one of a somewhat different sort cannot be considered in the same category. Cardinal Sapieha, Archbishop of Cracow, came here a few days ago, presumably to argue that restoring Poland's new territory to Germany would have a ruinous effect on the nation's future development and the Vatican attitude would have an equally bad effect on Polish Catholics. As usual, Vatican circles refuse to comment on the purpose of the visit, but persons close to the Secretariat of State say that Sapieha's mission is a failure: a friendly attitude toward the whole German people is to continue to be the policy of the Vatican.

PERCY WINNER

THE HOUSEWIVES' STRIKE

AUSTIN (NR correspondent)

The grandmother who started the housewives' strike against high meat prices headed for the mountains to take a rest, leaving behind a fire that is spreading over Texas and the nation.

Like most grass fires, it didn't help much. The farmers and ranchers read the papers and listen to the radio, too. So when the housewives started their strike, the meat producers also started one. They kept their cattle at home. Bidders at the auction rings which supply small cities found offerings so small that they bid the price up two cents a pound during the first week of the petticoat rebellion.

In Austin, as in Dallas, the housewives realized that one week of striking wouldn't do the job and extended their meat strike to September 1. Lawrence Hodgkins, Fort Worth butcher, tried to cash in on the price war by selling meat below cost, with sirloin at 38 cents a pound. But the buyers stayed away in droves, and his Saturday sales were just about normal. In Camden, New Jersey, 2,500 housewives pledged not to buy meat for 10 days. A survey showed similar resistance in 44 other American cities as the price of meat continued in its upward spiral.

Texas grocers held their annual convention in the midst of the strike and heard predictions that prices would hold up for a year or more. Developments in the meat supply situation seem to bear it out:

1. When the cattlemen's strike in 1946 broke the back of the OPA and forced President Truman to lift controls, ranchers dug deep into their breeding stock to cash in on post-OPA prices.

2. The quarantine of Mexican cattle because of foot-and-mouth disease

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keeps 500,000 head of cattle a year off the US market.

3. The demands of the Marshall Plan for meat for Europe drain off meat supplies from domestic meat counters and naturally bid the price up.

4. The drought of 1947 with high feed prices and short grass reduced breeding stocks further; cattle population of nearly every cattle-growing state is now well below normal.

5. The Texas drought of 1948 is even worse than the one in 1947. When drought makes feeding costly, ranchers generally sell all the cattle they can. This summer the grass is so burned that many ranchers are feeding now.

6. Meat consumption (before the strike) was holding at high levels. With stocks low, foreign and domestic demand high and imports nil, prices are bound to firm. Livestock men usually expect a drop in price in September, but now there are few if any indications that the usual pattern will apply.

HIGH COTTON

The Dixiecrats expect to have a fresh million dollars in their treasury after a series of their own dinners, which is just about the amount the regular Democrats lost through the states' righters' boycott of the Jackson Day dinners.

The Dixiecrats are already well supplied with dollars, and according to W. Austin Seay, director of their new Washington headquarters, they will be equally blessed with electoral votes in November.

"We already have 32 electoral votes pledged to the Thurmond-Wright ticket," says Seay, "and nothing but a totalitarian dictate can take them away. The final count will be at least 100."

Campaign Director Seay admits that their chances for such a vote depend on Texas, where they are hoping that "the people's voice will rule" at the September 14 Democratic convention and Texas Dixiecrats will try to place the names of Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright on the November ballot as "Democratic" nominees in place of Truman and Barkley. Thurmond and Wright personally opened the campaign for Texas' 23 electoral votes, the biggest Southern bloc, by choosing Houston, the wealthiest city in the state, as the place from which to make their acceptance speeches.

The Big Money was there to greet them and to take over the fight. E. E. Townes, former chief counsel for Humble Oil and Refining Company (Standard), Texas' biggest oil company, was chairman of the steering committee. Dan Moody Jr., an oil attorney and son of a former Governor, is organizing the Young Dixiecrat Clubs. Hugh Roy Cullen, Houston oil millionaire who contributes regularly to Republican campaign coffers and to Senator W. Lee O'Daniel's crusades, was the host at the big reception for Thurmond.

With the "first team" of oil lawyers managing the campaign, the conservative machines have already captured control of the three largest delegations (Houston, Dallas and Fort Worth) to the coming convention. In defense, the conservatives who remained true to Truman have been forced to join with labor and liberals in the state to retain their majority. Texas is viewing the rare sight of Governor Beauford Jester, long-time labor target, going hand-in-hand with labor and liberals to seek delegates in small towns up and down the state.

In addition to Texas' 23, the states' righters are counting on winning four electoral votes in Florida, eight in South Carolina, nine in Mississippi, and 11 in Alabama. The Alabama Dixiecrats are keeping an especially vigilant guard over their electoral treasure. State Senator Joe Langan has been warned that if he persists in his efforts to promote a pro-Truman slate of electors to oppose the Thurmond-Wright slate in November, he may get tossed out of the Alabama Democratic Party.

State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey wrote to Langan that the "white people of the South were insulted and scorned by the Philadelphia convention in a manner that makes it utterly impossible for me to understand how you or any other Southerner could think of such a thing as wishing an opportunity to vote for Truman." The Dixiecrats say he was speaking for a whole new Confederacy.

GEORGIA JUSTICE AGAIN

Those Southerners who oppose President Truman's civil-rights program do so because, they say, the South doesn't need any help in giving equal protection and full justice to everybody, white or black.

Next time one of them gives you that argument, tell him the story of the Ingrams.

Mrs. Rosa Ingram, a recent widow, has been living on a farm in southwest Georgia with 11 of her 12 children, ranging in age from 18 years down to 17 months. On an adjoining farm lived a family of poor white sharecroppers.

A mule and some pigs belonging to Mrs. Ingram strayed across the property line, and when she went looking for them, accompanied by her two teen-age sons, she found the white neighbor, John Stratford, about to shoot them with a rifle. When she protested, Stratford attacked her savagely, beating her over the head with the rifle butt. The two boys came to the aid of the mother, and in the ensuing struggle, the white man was killed.

You can guess what happened next. The sheriff arrested Mrs. Ingram and her two oldest sons. He also took with him the two next children, leaving seven young Ingrams—the oldest 11—to fend for themselves as best they could. The mother and two sons were kept in prison for three months without bail. Then an all-white jury, in a one-day trial, condemned all three to death on a date only 24 days later. The jury ignored ample evidence that the Ingrams had fought in self-defense, as well as the remark of their (white) attorney in court that "everyone around here knows the Ingrams would be free today had they been white."

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At this point the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People entered the case. While the three prisoners were held for two months in solitary confinement, NAACP lawyers argued for a new trial. Judge William M. Harper, who had sentenced them to death, denied the new trial, but changed the sentence to life imprisonment—by what process of reasoning, we do not know.

The "Committee of 100," of which Bishop F. J. McConnell is chairman, is raising funds to appeal the Ingram case to higher courts. Its address is 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

BURNINGS NEXT?

Thus far, there have been no book bonfires in the US. Yet there are many developments throughout the country which look ominously in that direction. At the recent meeting of the American Library Association in Atlantic City, some of them were reported:

In California, the State Board of Education, under pressure from professional patriots, has been making changes in a series of books called *Building America,* published by the National Education Association and used for many years as supplementary reading for students in junior-high schools. The Board blue-pencilled such passages as "one-third of our people are poorly housed," in the obvious hope that nobody would notice he was badly housed unless he read about it.

The Birmingham, Alabama, public schools banned *Scholastic* magazine, which is circulated all over the country for classroom use. *Scholastic* published an issue on Brotherhood Week which said, among other things, "Fascism turns its hate against Negroes, Jews, religious groups, foreigners and labor groups." Somebody in authority in Birmingham apparently felt he was being paged.

Philadelphia police, acting without warrants, raided 50 bookshops and seized 2,000 books on charges of obscenity. There had been complaints, centering on several novels of Erskine Caldwell, made by the Holy Name Society, the Alliance of Catholic Women and a Protestant Committee of clergymen and laymen.

The *Nation,* following a series of articles on political and social activities of the Catholic Church, has been banned from the public school libraries of New York and other cities, and from some colleges.

In several Southern cities, librarians have reported attempts to ban *Black Boy,* by Richard Wright, *Strange Fruit,* by Lillian Smith, and Paul Robeson's biography.

Confronted by antics of this sort, the American Library Association is setting up Committees on Intellectual Freedom in all the states, to fight censorship. As Pearl Buck told them at their conference:

> Censorship of books means censorship of the mind, and censorship of the mind is what every tyrant wants. Sometimes he wears the robes of a minister of religion, sometimes he wears a business suit or soldier's uniform. But librarians must watch for him wherever he is, and the censorship of books is the sign of his presence. The freedom of people everywhere in the world is closely linked with freedom from censorship of books.

TENSIONS PROJECT

What causes war? A great international conference of psychiatrists and others began this month in London to discuss some of the less familiar reasons for conflict, including the impulses of the individual toward aggression.

A few weeks earlier, UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) released a preliminary and unofficial study in the same field. Its "Tensions Project," directed by Dr. Hadley Cantril of Princeton, brought together a group of distinguished social scientists from many countries, who sat down for two weeks and hammered out a set of principles to which, miraculously, they all agreed. Some highlights:

There is nothing in human nature that makes war inevitable. What we need is to keep group and national tensions and aggressions within manageable limits.

National pride and patriotism, which get mixed up with aggression, are kept alive through myths and traditions, passed along by parents and teachers who do not realize the dangers of their course.

Since aggressions are fostered by injustice, we should put an end to a permanent inferior status for any group; modern productive power and resources should be used to create and maintain maximum social justice.

Every effort should be made to help social scientists to free themselves from nationalistic myths; to help do this, it might be well to have international institutes of the social sciences and an international university. And in general, social scientists, if they are to be effective, should be carefully protected from all political and financial pressure.

WOODEN MEAT

When Nobel prize winner Professor Friedrich Bergius discovered the secret of fluid coal, he became the delight of Nazi boss Goering and was given a fine job.

At the end of the Third Reich the Professor made his home in Bad Gastein, Austria, favorite hangout of former industrial tycoons of the Nazi regime. Foreign governments, among them the Russian, invited him to settle in their countries and give them the benefit of his scientific researches.

Bergius refused. He had but one desire, he told the respectfully listening world: to work for the rebuilding of Austria by turning wood pulp into a food substance as rich in fat and protein as meat.

The grateful—and hungry—Austrian government promptly forgave and forgot the Professor's Nazi past. It rewarded him with Austrian citizenship, presented him with a former wool factory as a research laboratory, and put two million schilling at his disposal as a basic fund.

Hopeful Austrians waited patiently for the promised wood-meat. The name Bergius became a symbol for a

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better future: he promised to produce 75 tons of the valuable foodstuff daily.

Austrian and foreign industrialists soon got wind of the research being conducted in greatest secrecy. They begged and got permission to invest in the Bergius enterprise.

Then the Professor made an announcement. His theory, he said, had proved 100 percent correct. In practice, however, there was a slight hitch. "Austrian wood was too tough to be made into food."

When a Salzburg court showed interest in this bit of information, the Professor left Austria. By the time the government and investors started looking about for their millions, Friedrich Bergius and his co-workers in the great experiment had safely crossed the Spanish border.

The German weekly, *Montags Echo,* which reports the sad tale, adds that at present Herr Professor Bergius is busy trying to sweeten the lives of Spanish citizens: he is working on experiments that would turn orange trees into sugar.

THE DEADLY GAME

The peace of the world was trifled with last week as though it were of no more importance than the fence-line rights of disorderly neighbors. Like children playing prisoner's base, Russian, American and British citizens scampered about, crossing forbidden boundaries and flouting the laws and customs which are intended to preserve harmony, while on the so-called higher level the masters of our destiny behaved in the manner of preoccupied parents. The Kremlin seems strangely unaware that deadly mischief was afoot in Berlin, New York and elsewhere, and the representatives of the West evidently could find no way to force through a working formula that would lessen the risks, if nothing more.

While the great powers ponderously deliberated in Moscow, the American, British and Russian police and military authorities bickered almost gleefully in Berlin. A former reporter for the New York *Sun* named Thomas P. Headen, now employed in the US Military Government's information service, wandered across a plainly-marked line dividing the Soviet-British zones of Berlin with a camera in his hand.

Headen seems to have spent several years in the Army and some more time attached to it without learning the wisdom of obeying such signs as: THIS ROAD UNDER ENEMY OBSERVATION and ACHTUNG MINEN, or maybe he's just a daredevil. Anyway, three Russian warriors, who probably couldn't read but understood simple commands, snatched him into their jeep and whisked him away while his wife stood on or about the demarcation line screaming, somewhat irrelevantly, that he was her husband. Official requests for the return of the camera fan were lodged immediately.

Meanwhile the British had netted a bigger fish. In their sector they had arrested Franz Erdmann, director of the Russian sector's criminal police division. Herr Erdmann had strayed off limits to attend a prize fight in the British area, which any American cop could have told him was a classic blunder. The British seem terribly pleased with themselves about the catch. One of them said when asked if Erdmann had been abducted:

"That is far too strong a word, old boy. We just tapped him on the shoulder and asked him to come along and have a little chat."

A few hours later all sides turned loose their celebrated prisoners, but there was no guarantee that the game would not be renewed immediately. The way the Russians play it, the fun can be awfully rough. In one week they rounded up more than 2,500 Berliners in retaliation for boundary-line riots. They said at the end of the week that they had released all but 40 of the Germans.

In the US the squabbling over the Russian teachers and the New York Soviet Counsel went on with no indications that sanity was imminent. The teacher who jumped from the consulate window was reported to be mending. The counsel who abducted her from White Russians, who, he said, had abducted her themselves, was supposedly preparing to go back home by request of the United States government.

LESS TALK, MORE WORK

The CIO is preparing to talk for Harry S. Truman for President and to work for a Democratic Congress. The decision to back the Democratic condidate again in 1948, in spite of all the faults labor has had to find with the Truman record, was reached almost immediately after the Democratic National Convention indicated by its stand on civil rights that there still was life in Franklin Roosevelt's old party.

The CIO Political Action Committee admittedly has been seriously weakened by the withdrawal of the left-wing unions led by Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers, who has formally joined the Progressive Party.

PAC, however, has improved its basic methods of operation since the last election. In 1944 and 1946, CIO-PAC put on a great show, with tons of literature and hundreds of speakers running out from headquarters into the country. But its organizational underpinnings were shaky. It was long on propaganda and short on ward and block work. Piles of undistributed literature left over from the '46 campaign are still stacked in dark corners of local union halls thoughout the country today. This year, PAC is sending literature into the states only on request—and the local unions pay for what they get, so the material is being distributed.

PAC is talking less and working more. The emphasis is on organization, on block committees, on lining up shop stewards to get workers registered and voted, and on moving regular trade-union machinery into politics.

PAC's big aim this year is to get out at least 60 million of the 93 million eligible voters, and elect a Democratic Congress. Endorsement or no endorsement, CIO hearts won't be too much with Harry.

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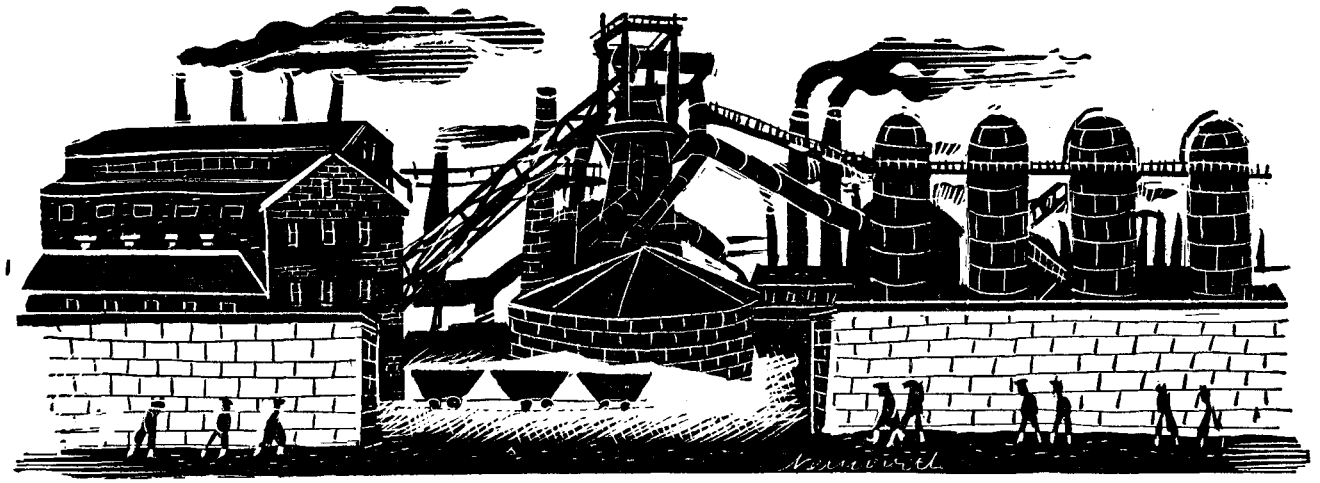

ONE YEAR OF TAFT-HARTLEY

WHEN President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act in June, 1947, he called it "a clear threat to the successful working of our democratic society." A year has elapsed since Congress enacted the law over his veto and amid labor's dire predictions that it was being enslaved. In factories, courts, hearing chambers and union halls the law has commenced its ponderous operations and in the process has begun to reveal how well the framers of Taft-Hartley wrought.

The mechanics, as the President and many others foresaw, have become maddeningly cumbersome. Other, unforeseen, evils have developed.

Beyond the specific fruits of the Taft-Hartley Act is another one, more abstract but more overriding in its total impact. That is the psychological climate created by the Act, a climate inimical to labor's free development and to the progressive improvement of collective bargaining as the technique developed in America for balancing the interest of labor, management and the nation as a whole.

> *"The bill would discriminate against employees."*

THE President's prediction has been borne out in a way that increases labor's foreboding of what may happen if the Taft-Hartley Act continues in its present form.

Since the Act went on the statute books, 22 applications for injunctions against labor have been filed by General Counsel Denham. The odds have been heavily in favor of injunctions. Of the 22 asked, 15 were granted, only three denied. Two were withdrawn and two are still pending. In this same period only two injunctions have been asked against employers,

A year after the Wagner Act was abrogated by the Taft-Hartley Act, the New Republic reviews herewith labor's new position, showing how the law has functioned throughout the country and what has resulted.

and only one granted (against General Motors).

Labor has other equally grave complaints about the injunction provisions. One is that penalties imposed on unions are greater than those on employers.

Other discriminatory provisions are ones burdening unions, but not employers, with complex reporting requirements before any of the rights available under the Act can be enjoyed; and the provisions requiring the NLRB to give priority to certain types of management complaints but not to those of labor. During the first nine months of T-H a total of 1,299 cases charging unfair labor practices were filed with the NLRB. Of these, 989 complaints were made against management. The Labor Board, carrying out the law, gave priority to 109 of the 310 cases filed against labor. No priorities were granted to cases against management.

One of the unions' gravest objections to the T-H Act, beyond such patent discriminations, is the basic juridical change it made while reviving the use of anti-labor injunctions. T-H grants courts the power to determine questions of fact in a complex field requiring a high degree of expert knowledge. The Wagner Act philosophy presumed that only the NLRB, among legal agencies, could have such intimate knowledge.

The Taft-Hartley error was demonstrated in the Sealright case when General Counsel Denham sought and won an injunction against certain warehousemen, members of ILWU-CIO, who refused to handle paper which was transported from a struck plant to a dock picketed by striking AFL paper workers. Denham argued that the warehousemen refused to handle the paper for fear of the pickets, not for reasons of conscience. A Federal District Court granted the injunction, even though a trial examiner subsequently rejected Denham's arguments when the warehousemen testified that they would not cross a picket line under any conditions and that, in fact, their contract with their own employer protected them from

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being coerced into crossing any picket line.

Before Taft-Hartley that could not have occurred because the determination of pertinent facts would have been in the hands of labor-relations experts, not in the hands of courts.

> *"The bill raises serious issues of public policy which transcend labor-management difficulties."*

IN OPERATION, the Act has raised even more issues of public policy than the President envisioned. He mentioned restrictions on political contributions by labor and the constrictive effect on such legitimate activities as the publication of union newspapers.

Too, he protested against inviting states to pass even more restrictive laws which would then have precedence over the T-H statute. This some states have done eagerly.

And, finally, he predicted that the non-Communist affidavit provision would deprive broad masses of union members of collective bargaining rights because of the actions of only a handful of officers.

The provision *has*, of course, been useful in disclosing where Communist infiltration is greatest in the labor movement. But if ousting of those Communists was the purpose of the Act, it has not been successful. In instance after instance, officials suspected of being Communists have resigned their officerships and become, for example, "research directors."

FRASCONI

The question arises, however, of whether such methods—by means of the provisions of a labor-management statute—are the way the issue of Communism should be met in a democratic state. Exposure of Communists, a desirable step if labor itself is to remain in a free, healthy condition, is one thing; denial of civil liberties in achieving that step is another, and more sinister, kind of development.

An unforeseen result of the Act involving public policy is the tremendous spurt given to union raiding. It is questionable whether cannibalization will help labor, whether the concentration of labor power is to the public interest.

> *"The bill arbitrarily decides against the workers certain issues which are normally the subject of collective bargaining and thus restricts the area of voluntary agreement."*

THIS veto-message prediction applied most clearly to the provisions intended to outlaw or restrict the closed shop and union shop, historically part of the pattern of American unionism, but it also applies to union welfare funds.

The accuracy of the President's prediction has already been demonstrated, in regard to union-shop restrictions, by moves on the part of the leading authors of the T-H law to repeal the restrictions.

Representative Fred A. Hartley Jr., co-author of the law, and Senator Irving M. Ives, one of its supporters, now agree that the requirement for union-shop elections ought to be abolished. So does General Counsel Robert N. Denham of the National Labor Relations Board.

The restrictions were placed in the law in answer to charges that union members were "dominated" by their leaders. Approximately 18,000 union-shop elections have now been held and the unions have won 17,640 of them—roughly 98 percent. In these elections, only five percent of the eligible voters cast ballots against union-shop clauses, eleven percent did not vote, and 84 percent voted for the union-security clause. The 89 percent of eligible voters casting ballots is overwhelmingly greater than the proportion of eligible voters using the ballot in national political elections.

> *"The bill would establish an ineffective and discriminatory emergency procedure for dealing with major strikes affecting the public health or safety."*

ONLY ONCE so far during the Taft-Hartley era has the Act's full emergency procedure been invoked. That was in the atomic-plant workers' dispute at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Procedural steps were carried out carefully. The President was notified formally of the existence of the dispute. He appointed a fact-finding board. The Attorney General got a 60-day injunction. Negotiations during that period were fruitless. On the injunction's expiration began a 15-day period in which employees voted on the employer's "final" wage offer. The offer was turned down.

By law, the only remaining step was for the President, within five days, to inform Congress of what had happened. What finally occurred was that the employers, finding their offer rejected decisively, raised the ante and the union accepted.

The process was a lesson in futility. Almost 80 days had been wasted during which the atomic-energy plant was tense with uncertainty and negotiations got nowhere.

The T-H Act was written under the erroneous assumption that "strikes are called in haste as the result of inflamed passions and that union leaders do not represent the wishes of

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their workers," Mr. Truman observed. How truly he spoke has been proved by the fact that more than 95 percent of the elections held under the Act have upheld the positions of existing union leadership.

> *"The bill would deprive workers of vital protection they now have under law."*

THE DOCTRINE of the Wagner Act was to protect workers against economic penalties—particularly loss of their jobs—for strikes or for union activity. The Taft-Hartley Act changes that doctrine.

Technically, a worker cannot be fired for striking. But he can be "replaced" while he is on strike, and, when the NLRB holds an election to determine whether employees wish to be represented by a union, the strikers who have been "replaced"—*i.e.*, the original employees—are barred from voting. No case applying this section has yet been decided by the NLRB. The case pending before the board is the United States Pipe Machinery Company, involving striking members of the International Association of Machinists.

In the Dearborn Glass Company case, decided recently, the NLRB applied rigidly the precedent of the International Nickel Company case, holding that mass picketing alone, though without violence, justified discharge of strikers "who personally participated." The effect is to allow a management to refuse to reinstate the most energetic and able union leaders when a strike is settled, though it may reinstate hundreds of other union members who performed the same alleged misdeeds. In practice, reinstatement of strikers "without prejudice" has been one of the formulas by which bitter industrial struggles are ended, and a change in the formula opens the way to whittling down union strength.

Certain kinds of secondary boycotts, as Truman said in his veto message, are legitimate efforts by unions to protect themselves and their employers from the competition of other employers producing goods under non-unionized, sweatshop conditions. The T-H forbids all secondary boycotts—not just those in which unions engage in admittedly bad practices (like the AFL unions which refused to handle products made by CIO labor). The NLRB, in the one case it has decided, followed the letter of the law in ruling that a secondary boycott of any type is an "unfair labor practice."

> *"The bill abounds in provisions which would be unduly burdensome and actually unworkable."*

ONE YEAR has been enough to prove the President right, though he did not need a crystal ball to foresee the administrative mess ahead. A provision permitting the operation of individual bias is a clause which makes a report of a trial examiner the ruling of the NLRB, unless exception is filed within 20 days.

Superimposed on this cumbersome machinery is the office of the General Counsel, Robert Denham. He largely runs the NLRB, since all personnel are responsible to him (with unimportant exceptions) and he is completely independent of the board.

The conflict and confusion inherent in this system were not long in developing. At the outset, Denham ruled that no CIO or AFL union could use the Act unless all officers of the CIO and AFL had signed the anti-Communist pledge. The board disagreed, and the resultant jumble was not cleared up until Denham finally accepted the board's position. Then, later, in the International Typographical Union cases, Denham's office charged that certain acts of the union constituted an unfair labor practice. The NLRB has yet to rule whether or not they actually do, and may not so rule for a year, in view of the backlog of work. Yet Denham has already obtained an injunction from a federal judge in Indianapolis against the ITU for unfair labor practice under the T-H Act. So the ITU is in a quandary. It must obey the court order, yet the NLRB may make an entirely different and equally binding decision.

Not only is the machinery cumbersome, but the complicated requirements of the law, especially in regard to elections for the establishment of union shops, have resulted in a hopeless clogging of the board's schedules. Between August, 1947, when the law went into effect, and the end of February, 1948, the backlog of cases pending before the board rose from 3,933 to 9,500, the highest in its history. By February, new cases were being filed at the rate of 4,500 per month. The enlarged board has been able to step up its rate of disposal to about 1,500 cases per month. Nevertheless, it expects the case load to continue at the rate of about 5,000 per month and anticipates that in the fiscal year July, 1948, through June, 1949, it will be confronted with the staggering total of 60,000 cases.

The increased case load is due directly to the new provision of the T-H law. The minority report of the Joint Committee on Labor-Management Relations points out that of the 8,029 cases received between August, 1947, and February, 1948, "by far the vast majority arose under new sections of the law." However the case load has

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risen not only because of the new provisions of the T-H law, but also because of a new provision added to section 10 (a). Formerly the NLRB did not assert its jurisdiction over workers engaged in activities with only a limited effect upon interstate commerce, but left such cases to state organs. Under the T-H law the board is not permitted to cede jurisdiction unless a state law conforms to the T-H Act, and few do. Thus the NLRB is forced to take up all sorts of local and minor disputes which were handled locally during Wagner Act days.

> *"The bill would expose employers to numerous hazards . . . frequent disruption of continuous plant production . . . many more elections . . . a multiplicity of minor suits . . . [and] prevent an employer from freely granting a union-shop contract, even where he and virtually his entire working force were in agreement as to its desirability."*

ON THE ISSUE of union shops, the President put a prophetic finger on a major source of disruption in three important labor fields during the Taft-Hartley era—the mining, maritime and printing industries. All three have had a troubled year because the Act outlaws the union shop.

In all three the employers have not been bitterly opposed to union or closed shops and it is safe to say that without T-H restrictions they would have granted such provisions in normal negotiations.

In New York, for instance, newspaper owners have signed contracts with the ITU agreeing to restore the closed shop (workers hired only from among union members) "if the law permits."

Among the maritime unions, the issue is at present more confused. Two trial examiners have ruled that hiring-hall operations are illegal under the Act. One trial examiner, however, has ruled that the hiring hall, as such, is not equivalent to a closed shop and is therefore legal. The issue may result in a maritime strike.

The United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis, with the blessing of Justice T. Alan Goldsborough, have adopted the position that there is nothing illegal about a union-shop clause unless a complaint is filed charging an unfair labor practice.

The miners, maritime and typographical cases illustrate how T-H, by resurrecting the union-shop issue, has increased rather than lessened labor unrest.

Contrary to the President's forecast, T-H has *not* lessened production by "many more elections" and "raiding and jurisdictional disputes." From August, 1947, through June, 1948, the NLRB conducted 2,399 collective-bargaining elections. This is a sharp decline from the 6,920 conducted from July 1, 1946, to August 22, 1947—a longer period but still a significant decline.

> *"The bill would disregard in important respects the unanimous convictions of employer and labor representatives at the National Labor-Management Conference in November, 1945 . . . that the government should withdraw from the collective bargaining process."*

THE Labor-Management Conference met after a period of four years in which the government had dictated wartime wage scales and conditions of employment.

Now the Taft-Hartley law writes into statute for the first time in American history a peacetime effort by the government to control the terms of settlement between management and labor. The function of the Wagner Act was simply to bring the parties together around a bargaining table; the T-H law tells them, within limits, what they may or may not do.

Even management, in its frank moments, is apprehensive on this score. By granting the government power to sit as a policeman at the bargaining table a precedent has been set. From the T-H set of "don'ts" imposed on strikes, welfare funds, closed and union shops, the next step is for government to be given authority to impose "do's" on negotiators. The apparently easy solution of compulsory arbitration—first for public utilities, next for giant industries "affecting the public health and safety"—may again become attractive.

> *"The bill would substantially increase strikes."*

THE President underestimated labor's capacity to take a licking and also, it seems, miscalculated the effect of the Act during good economic times. Actually strikes have declined since enactment of the bill and, in doing so, have continued a trend apparent since the peak of the postwar strike trouble in 1946.

From September, 1946, until August, 1947 (the effective date of the Act), there were 4,401 strikes involving 3,080,000 workers and resulting in the loss of 48 million man-days of work. From August, 1947, through June, 1948, there were 2,279 strikes involving 1,400,000 workers, resulting in the loss of 27,600,000 man-days of work. The man-days lost in the first period represented slightly less than six-tenths of one percent of all the hours worked in the US. After Taft-Hartley, that percentage declined to about four-tenths of one percent of the hours worked.

Whether Taft-Hartley could be credited with the decline is highly doubtful. After World War I a similar strike pattern occurred—first a wave of strikes in 1919, followed by an increase in labor peace such as has occurred since the 1946 strike peak. And after that war there was no Taft-Hartley Act operating as a peace factor.

Labor experts believe that economic factors have been of far greater influence than the Act itself in cutting down strikes.

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TAFT-HARTLEY AT BOEING

SEATTLE (NR correspondent)

A CITY where 150,000 out of 500,000 citizens are card-carrying union members must be classed as a good union town. That, among other reasons, is why Seattle is really upset and worried over the long strike at the Boeing Aircraft plant.

Since April 22, a strike of 15,000 workers over wages has interfered with the plant's production of B-50's and of the revolutionary XB-47, a super-jet bomber. The amount of production affected is well over $200 million, but a good deal more than that is involved, too, since Boeing is Seattle's main industry with a $20 million annual payroll, and the issues of the strike have become a major test of the Taft-Hartley Act itself.

So far the strike has made two things clear: that one of the meanest jurisdictional disputes in West Coast history has grown up under the T-H Act; and that a really determined employer, using the trickier provisions of the Act, can stall off collective bargaining for months while the union bleeds to death.

The jurisdictional dispute involves one of the West Coast's biggest labor leaders, Dave Beck, who thunders that the Taft-Hartley Act is a "slave-labor" law but who uses the protection of the same law to go behind the picket lines of the striking union to try to get strikebreakers into his own AFL Teamsters' Union.

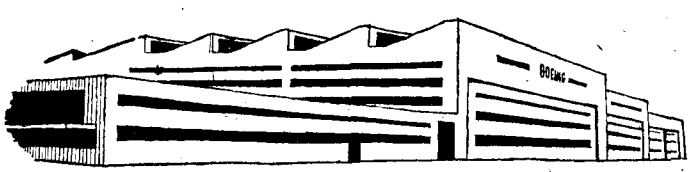
This is the way it all happened: Last April 20, some 250 shop stewards and the officers of Lodge 751, Aero-Mechanics Division of the independent International Association of Machinists, decided that further attempts to negotiate with Boeing would be useless. For fourteen months they had been trying unsuccessfully to reach an agreement. Way back in May, 1947, Lodge 751 had voted to strike, but was denied sanction by the IAM at that time because of a so-called "no-strike" clause in the contract.

By April 20, Lodge 751's officers, spurred on by an angry membership that hadn't had a pay raise for two years, decided to tackle Boeing head-on. They sent the company a final offer in ultimatum form, threatening a strike if the company did not accept in 36 hours. Today some local labor officials, sympathetic to the strike, feel that inexperienced union leaders were unwise to act so abruptly. But they did, the Boeing company refused, and the first strike in Boeing's 32-year history began.

Although aware that Boeing and Lodge 751 were having trouble, most Seattle citizens were surprised by the sudden strike, particularly in view of the 12 continuous years of amicable relations between union and company. In fact, Lodge 751 has had the reputation of being a model union with an efficient, modern, vertical structure which virtually prohibited such things as jurisdictional disputes. Its members were not and never had been radical. Its president, Harold J. Gibson, even balked at sharing a speakers' platform with Henry Wallace because he felt it might be interpreted as indicating Lodge 751's support of the Progressive Party.

Hope for an early end to the strike faded on April 30 when Boeing's president, William M. Allen, declared that the union had lost its rights as a bargaining agent by violating Section 8-d of the T-H Act, which calls for a 60-day strike notice for a "cooling-off" period. Allen refused to recognize the union unless it called off the strike.

Union Leader Gibson, a pugnacious, 35-year-old war veteran, answered Allen defiantly the same day, telling a meeting that "we'll strike until all hell freezes over." He scoffed at Allen's position on strike notification, asserting that the company had known what was coming for a year.



Allen denied Lodge 751's claim that he was trying to break the union. He said the company could pay no more than the 15-cent-an-hour increase it has offered—which would make the average wage $1.53 an hour—and stay in business. The union asked 30 cents. Nor, Allen said, could Boeing maintain the seniority provisions. He said they prevented the company from deploying its working force as it wished. Neutral observers agreed that there was some truth in that argument. Allen added that the company was making what he termed a "last-stand effort to save Seattle's major payroll for Seattle and the Pacific Northwest."

Shortly afterwards, the legal battle began. The company filed a federal court suit against the union for $2,250,000 damages. Lodge 751 replied by charging the company with unfair labor practices before the NLRB.

As both sides waited for court action, Dave Beck pushed his way into the picture. On May 28 he announced in his union newspaper, the *Washington Teamster*, that the Teamsters would seek jurisdiction at Boeing on the grounds that it had been awarded them by the 1937 AFL convention. Beck said that he wanted jurisdiction over only 5,000 workers, but it soon became obvious that he was after the entire membership.

Why did Beck step in? It was an act which he knew would bring him condemnation from many labor groups, but Beck is tough and almighty strong. Nobody has ever whipped him, and Boeing is a fat plum with 15,000 dues-paying members.

There were other considerations, too. Beck, who takes his responsibilities seriously, thought there was a real possibility that Boeing might move the bulk of its operation out of

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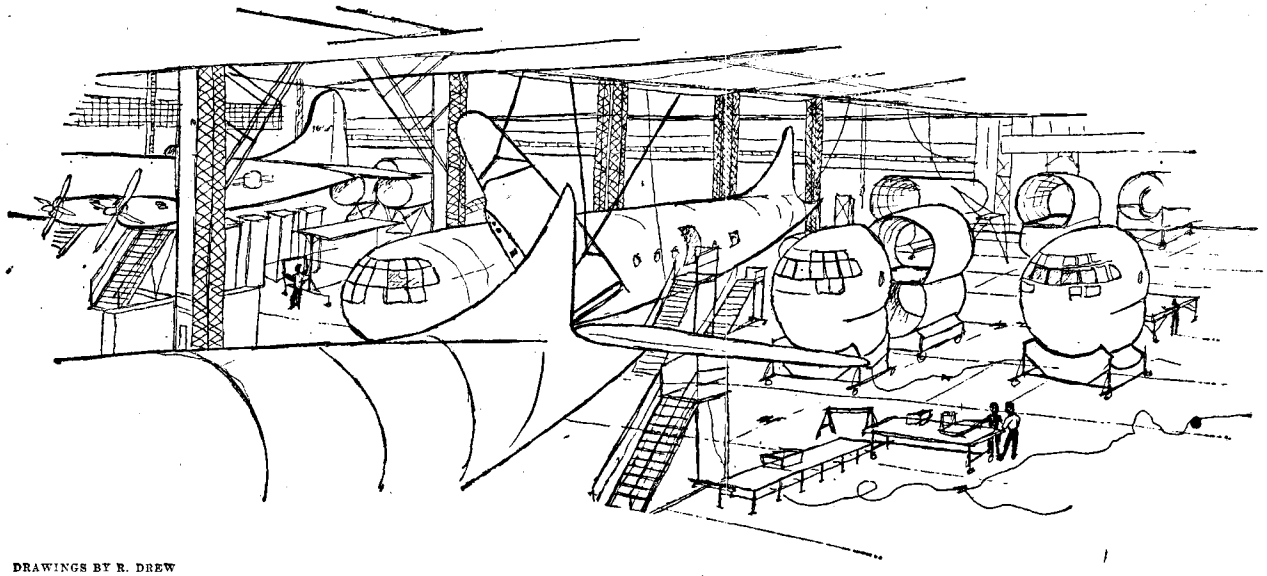

DRAWINGS BY R. DREW

the Northwest to its Wichita, Kansas, plants. He felt that the strike had already hurt Seattle badly and was certain to continue for many months. It was a blow to his pride, too, because Beck is known as the man who found a magic formula that brought labor peace to Seattle. (The formula is a method whereby employers raise wages—and prices.)

The Teamsters moved in and the uproar began. Beck, 53, a laundry-wagon driver who rose to the leadership of an estimated 350,000 Teamsters and became a regent of the University of Washington, has pushed around many West Coast labor leaders to gain his Western labor empire.

There is a general feeling among Seattle unionists that Beck wants to gobble all unions into the Teamsters. Once he had even attempted to claim jurisdiction over Seattle newspaper men. He has had his eye on Harry Bridges' waterfront. In a speech at the Western Conference of Teamsters, Beck envisioned the day when the Teamsters, who now have a million, would reach three million members—a remark which has given some labor officials the shakes.

Beck's organizing methods, which have piled up a third of the Teamsters total strength in an area where only a twelfth of the US population lives, have made him many enemies, but no single labor leader has dared tackle him alone.

Organized labor in the state of Washington could not ignore Beck's overt move to help Boeing break Lodge 751's strike. From Ed Weston, president of the powerful State Federation of Labor (which the Teamsters quit in 1941 when they were no longer able to control it), to Roy Atkinson, CIO director, they declared themselves opposed to Beck's use of the T-H Act to break a strike.

As the strike dragged on and the plight of Lodge 751 became more tense, anti-Beck sentiment increased. The State Federation, at its convention, officially condemned the Teamsters' action, and many militant unionists openly declared that every means should be used to stop Beck. Two representatives of Walter Reuther's CIO Automobile Workers, no friends of the IAM, appeared in Seattle to offer their services to Lodge 751, and quoted Reuther as saying that Beck must be stopped at Boeing.

The attitude of local labor was not purely altruistic. Charles T. Hickey, president of Local 20, International Typographical Union, spoke for many when he said, "If Boeing and Beck can use the Act to knock Lodge 751 in the head, we may be the next ones to get it."

The result of the strife is the first labor coalition designed to stop Beck. Pumped up by IAM, the campaign could frustrate the Seattle teamster in his ambition to succeed aging Dan Tobin as International Teamster boss.

The IAM had already started by appealing to the Teamsters' 240 Western locals to repudiate Beck. In Seattle, Lodge 751 was doing its best to stir up unrest in Beck's "captive" unions and was helping a teamster, who had been fired for refusing to drive through the Boeing picket line, circulate an anti-Beck petition among Seattle Teamsters. To date, it has been signed by more than 1,000.

The regional office of the NLRB entered the case on June 11, filing the union's complaint of unfair labor practice charges against the company. It was the second case of its kind against an employer under T-H. (The first was the UAW's successful complaint against General Motors.) But the company won the first victory a week later when US District Judge John C. Bowen denied the NLRB request for a temporary injunction to force Boeing to bargain, and, in so doing, delivered an opinion that the strike was illegal.

Boeing immediately made the most of his decision. After Lodge 751's members had voted unanimously to continue the strike, the company started a high pressure campaign to attract strikers and new employees.

Tough-jawed Bill Allen told a mass meeting of Boeing's 7,000 non-strikers: "Let's forget about the union. Let's concentrate on community, country, company and ourselves."

An ambitious public campaign got underway immediately. Large display

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ads in Seattle newspapers, billboard ads, continual day and night radio plugs repeated the message: "Boeing has a job to do; Boeing has a job for you."

The union's reply, addressed to its members, was: "Boeing has a job to do—but it can't be done without you!"

When several thousand Vanport, Oregon, citizens were made homeless by the Columbia River flood, Boeing campaigned extensively among them for workers. Company representatives were out beating the bushes throughout the Northwest for workers.

By July 20 it appeared that the company was succeeding. Returning strikers and new workers flocked into the plant, and Boeing claimed to be within 5,000 of its needed work force.

But despite the pressure of hunger and the company's blandishments, Lodge 751's members are continuing an excellent job of holding out. Less than 3,000 of them have returned to work. Included in the union's ranks are a large number of first-time unionists, school teachers and farmers who had flocked to Boeing during the war, and some 500 Negroes, who had worked on permits during the war and have been admitted only recently to IAM membership. All of them are still marching on the picket line.

In a situation where violence could easily develop, Lodge 751 has kept it peaceful. There have been a few amateurish bombings (of the union hall and strikers' and strikebreakers' homes) and Gibson, in a rash burst of anger, once openly threatened reprisals against strikebreakers. But only one man has been hurt, and Lodge 751 is obeying a court order to enforce limited, peaceful picketing.

On July 25, the union finally got a boost itself when NLRB Trial Examiner William E. Spencer upheld its contention that the company is guilty of unfair labor practices for refusing to bargain. He ruled that prolonged negotiations can substitute for the 60-day notice under the T-H Act and held that the union thus had complied with the Act.

The company's hiring campaign slowed down immediately, and many returned strikers flocked back to the picket lines. Lodge 751 immediately accepted Spencer's findings in full and applied to return its members to work on the NLRB recommendations. The company, committed to its new employees and involved with Beck's Teamsters, could do nothing but refuse. On August 1, five days after Lodge 751's application, Boeing was liable to pay $172,000 daily in defaulted wages should the NLRB and the courts uphold Spencer's findings.

The union took full advantage of this possibility by publishing daily in newspaper advertisements a memo addressed to Boeing stockholders, telling them for how much they are liable under the trial examiner's findings.

But Bill Allen and Boeing seem willing to take the chance. His determination to prove the strike illegal apparently unshaken, Allen announced he would carry the case all the way to the Supreme Court. That is how things stand now.

Those who suffer most, of course, are the families of some 12,000 strikers who must get along somehow on strike benefits that amount to only about $10 a week. Barring an unexpected capitulation by either side, the strike may go a year or more.

The city, which remembers the IWW days, the general strike of 1919, the waterfront and newspaper strikes of the 1930's and Dave Beck's turbulent rise to czardom, is aroused as it hasn't been for a long time. Mostly a sense of frustration has grown up after conciliation attempts by Cyrus Ching and a committee appointed by Mayor William F. Devlin have failed to move the company to bargain at all.

Though there have been few disorders or demonstrations, nobody misses the drama of the union's fight against both Boeing and Beck. Nor do they underestimate its significance for progressivism in the labor movement of the Northwest, since Beck represents reactionary labor and others know they will be next if he wins.

As for the strikers themselves, most of them are getting tired and confused by the T-H battle, about which they understand little. This was evident at the two court hearings. The court rooms were filled with serious-faced strikers in work clothes, and, as each case droned on with its dry legal terminology, the bewilderment on their faces increased. Even IAM official James A. Duncan, veteran Seattle unionist who led the general strike of 1919, shook his gray head slowly and said: "Most of this courtroom talk goes right over me."

Whatever the legal outcome of the strike, it takes no great prescience to foresee bad feeling, possibly violence and jurisdictional strife at Boeing for a long time to come.

If this strike proves anything about the law that Senator Taft and Representative Hartley authored, presumably to bring peace to the American labor scene, it will show that labor relations cannot be handled in the courts. A legal battle which drags on while thousands of workers and their families are on the picket lines does not make for industrial harmony afterwards. It benefits only the lawyers.

The Boeing case also shows that the T-H Act provides a striking union with no protection against a rapacious labor leader who wants to further his own jurisdictional interest. Those are strong accusations for advocates of the Taft-Hartley Act to gainsay.

FRASCONI

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LITTLE TAFT-HARTLEY ACTS

ONE peculiarity of the Taft-Hartley Act is that, in matters of union security, it specifically waives the customary precedence of federal law over state. The Act provides that any state statutes that go farther than T-H in prohibiting "agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment" shall automatically supersede the federal act.

This open invitation to legislate against labor even more restrictively than did the 80th Congress was accepted with alacrity by numerous state legislatures. Little Taft-Hartley acts cropped up all over the country, most of them even more unfriendly to labor than the parent act. Fortunately for labor, enforcement generally is lax, though it varies from state to state. Most states do not have the machinery for detailed enforcement of complicated labor-management relations laws.

The acts are on the statute books, however—a threat to many of the rights labor has won through hard years of negotiation. A favorite state regulation is a so-called "right to work" law which is, in reality, a prohibition or limitation on all forms of union security.

Here is a summary of the anti-labor state laws passed in the T-H era:

ARIZONA: Outlaws closed and union shops (subject to referendum); restricts right to strike and picket.

ARKANSAS: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts check-off of union dues.

CALIFORNIA: Outlaws secondary boycotts; regulates jurisdictional disputes.

CONNECTICUT: Restricts right to picket.

DELAWARE: "Right to work"—restricts closed and union shops; restricts right to strike and picket; restricts check-off of union dues; outlaws secondary boycotts; requires unions to register and file financial reports; prescribes rules of operation for unions; provides for enforcement of union contracts by court action.

FLORIDA: Regulates disputes in public utilities.

GEORGIA: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts right to picket and strike; restricts check-off of union dues; outlaws secondary boycotts.

IDAHO: Restricts picketing; outlaws secondary boycotts.

INDIANA: Regulates disputes in public utilities.

IOWA: Outlaws closed and union shops; outlaws secondary boycotts; restricts check-off of union dues.

MAINE: "Right to work"—outlaws closed shops (subject to referendum).

MASSACHUSETTS: Regulates jurisdictional disputes; regulates disputes in public utilities.

MICHIGAN: Restricts strikes and picketing; regulates jurisdictional disputes; regulates disputes in public utilities; prohibits strikes by public employees.

MINNESOTA: Outlaws secondary boycotts; prohibits strikes of charitable hospital employees; prohibits strikes by public employees; provides that labor unions may be sued.

MISSOURI: Restricts strikes; outlaws secondary boycotts; regulates jurisdictional disputes; regulates disputes in public utilities; prohibits strikes of public employees.

NEBRASKA: "Right to work"—outlaws closed and union shops; regulates disputes in public utilities; provides that unincorporated labor organizations may be sued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: "Right to work"—restricts closed and union shops; requires unions to file annual financial statements.

NEW JERSEY: Regulates disputes in public utilities.

NEW MEXICO: "Right to work"—outlaws closed and union shops.

NEW YORK: Prohibits strikes of public employees.

NORTH CAROLINA: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts check-off of union dues.

NORTH DAKOTA: Restricts closed and union shops; restricts right to picket; outlaws secondary boycotts.

OHIO: Prohibits strikes of public employees.

OREGON: Outlaws secondary boycotts.

PENNSYLVANIA: Restricts right to strike and picket; prohibits secondary boycotts; regulates jurisdictional disputes; regulates disputes in public utilities; prohibits strikes by public employees.

RHODE ISLAND: Restricts check-off of union dues.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts picketing; provides that unions may be sued.

TENNESSEE: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts check-off of union dues.

TEXAS: Outlaws closed and union shops; restricts right to picket; outlaws secondary boycotts; prohibits strikes of public employees; restricts check-off of union dues; prohibits collective bargaining agreements with public employees.

UTAH: Restricts right to picket and strike; outlaws secondary boycotts.

VIRGINIA: Outlaws closed and union shops; regulates disputes in public utilities.

WISCONSIN: Regulates jurisdictional disputes; regulates disputes in public utilities.

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THREE UNIONS AND T-H

Principles as well as tactical considerations have led unions to adopt varying attitudes toward the Taft-Hartley Act. Some have complied with all its provisions, some with only part and some have remained as far outside its jurisdiction as possible. Here are reports on the T-H policies of three unions chosen as representatives of three points of view.

Reluctant Surrender

by James Peneff

THE LEFT-WING United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America (CIO) decided on June 3 to get in under the Taft-Hartley Act as a matter of salvation, but plans to make little use of the law's machinery.

Farm Equipment claims 60,000 members nationally, almost 40,000 of them in 12 plants of the International Harvester Company. About half its Harvester membership is in Chicago, where the union has its headquarters. Grant W. Oakes, President, is the Progressive Party's candidate for Governor of Illinois, running against Governor Dwight Green, Republican, and Adlai Stevenson, Democrat.

Oakes contends that the union's decision to have officers sign non-Communist affidavits came not so much as a defense measure against employers but because "unscrupulous" unions—meaning chiefly Walter P. Reuther's rival CIO-United Automobile Workers—were "taking advantage" of the T-H law to raid FE locals.

The union suffered a heavy blow last May when it lost bargaining rights for 17,000 workers at the Caterpillar Tractor Works in Peoria, Illinois. Its jurisdiction was challenged and a strike was called, but because the officers had not signed affidavits FE was ineligible for a place on an NLRB ballot. Winner in a run-off election on May 20 was the United Auto Workers (CIO), which defeated its counterpart in the AFL.

The 13-member executive board (since reduced to nine members) thereupon decided to submit the question of T-H law compliance to a referendum. As recently as last February, a special FE convention voted 433 to 203 against compliance, but in the referendum a majority of the 100 locals favored coming under the law.

As the board voted to comply, four top officers resigned in "protest." These were: Gerald Fielde, for nine years secretary-treasurer; Milton Burns, organization director; Ajay Martin, vice-president; and Pope Huff, board member-at-large.

Fielde retained his post as director of the union's National Harvester Council and Burns was named political-action director. Martin and Huff no longer have posts with the international union.

Although it reversed its position, the union is nevertheless still bitterly opposed to the law.

"The majority of the executive board has decided to comply, while pledging to continue the progressive policies for which our union has been noted since its formation," Oakes announced. "The board feels that compliance, however distasteful to a free-born American, is necessary to preserve our union against the unprincipled attacks of raiding vultures who infest the trade-union movement."

Fielde, in resigning, declared: "I know the end of the compliance road—which is why I refuse to set my foot upon even its beginnings. The end of the road is a union movement run according to the dictates of employers through their reactionary servants in Washington."

The FE kept its bargaining rights at the Canton Harvester Works, Canton, Illinois, on July 7, defeating the UAW in an NLRB election 1,307 to 368. In the companion office-workers' election, FE won with 125 votes to 40 for an independent union and 27 for the UAW.

It also has won a few bargaining elections since then in plants outside the Harvester chain, along with follow-up union-shop elections, and has a few petitions before the board for other union-shop elections. But FE is staying away from the NLRB as much as it can.

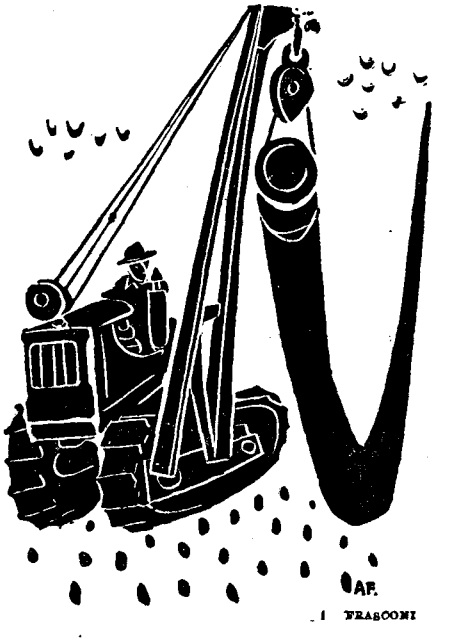
Prompt Compliance

by Robert A. Bedolis

THE VENERABLE International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (AFL) was quick to file affidavits to keep from exposing the union to the Taft-Hartley troubles which have afflicted others. However, though the union has complied, its hierarchy is becoming increasingly concerned with the threats the law seems to hold—for both the ILGWU and the stability the union has fostered in the women's-apparel industry.

In the first year of T-H operation the union got along all right, but its leaders are agitated by symptoms of trouble. One sign is the activity of non-union firms in and around New York City, where 70 percent of the industry's $4 billion output is produced. Some companies under contract to the unions are complaining that, by undercutting contract wage scales, the non-union firms have made telling gains in competition.

The ILGWU prides itself on having



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stopped employers from using the livelihood of its workers as a competitive weapon. The result has been a high degree of stability in the industry, for which employers have been grateful since it has helped them, too, to prosper.

To achieve this, the union has had to be alert in its organization, watching thousands of employers, jobbers and contractors in an industry which requires small individual capitalization and in which the appearance of new firms is frequent. ILGWU leaders hope that their traditionally good relations with employers will keep the latter from using the T-H Act as an anti-union device, particularly now that old and potent union weapons, including the secondary boycott, are no longer permitted.

The ILGWU reports that the non-union employers in the South are becoming increasingly tough. The same is true on the West Coast, where the ILGWU has been involved in organization strikes since December. This new toughness is seen by the union as a sign that employers believe they are in position to do some pushing around.

In New York, a few employers formerly coöperative with the union are playing ball with non-union jobbers and contractors. The danger is that others may do likewise if final adjudication of the T-H Act shows how it could be used for union-busting.

A traditional exponent of the union shop, the ILGWU is not feeling the T-H bans and modifications on union security as severely as some. In many of its major contracts it has included safeguards against law suits and loss of security. Its lawyers—and the union, like others, despairs at the legal work precipitated by T-H—are working continually on new protective methods to replace security provisions which have been outlawed. Several cases testing those new methods are now pending in court.

The ILGWU is one of the strongest unions in the country, with its own radio stations, $58 million in welfare funds, 400,000 members and contracts covering more than 90 percent of the industry. Financially it is strong enough to have made a $1 million loan to the new nation of Israel.

With such a backlog, the garment workers do not feel as precarious as some other unions, but they have already set aside several millions to protect their position both politically and trade-union-wise.

Stubborn Defiance

by Willard Shelton

JOHN L. LEWIS of the United Mine Workers thinks that in defying and opposing Taft-Hartley he serves the interests of American business no less than the interests of unions. In his judgment the T-H law, by intruding government coercion into the collective bargaining process, leads straight to the evils of compulsory arbitration, wage-fixing and price-fixing and, eventually, the corporative state.

From this viewpoint, Lewis has never wavered. Last September, he blocked a decision by the AFL Executive Council to sign non-Communist affidavits. When he lost a similar battle at the AFL convention in October, he subsequently "disaffiliated" and returned the UMW to splendid isolation.

The most recent issue of Lewis' *UMW Journal* reports the union's argument that, despite the apparently clear language of the law, the UMW and the mine operators have a right to the union shop without going through the steps prescribed by statute.

Lewis has argued consistently that the T-H law gave union leaders an "option"—to use NLRB machinery or not to use it. He recommended that by "doing nothing" they would virtually force the board out of existence—by boycotting it and exposing it as an instrument solely of employers. To hold this position, he has been ready to pay the price. The UMW's District 50 has lost locals because it could not appear on NLRB ballots when its majorities were challenged by other unions. The UMW, a spokesman says, "will not use statutory clauses for immediate advantage when it is opposed to the whole principle of the law."

Lewis and the UMW were fined $1,420,000 last April for contempt of a T-H injunction (now on appeal to the higher courts), but on June 25 the UMW won one of the best contracts in American labor history, including welfare-fund provisions which, from a financial standpoint, overshadow the fine. Lewis has refused to bow to state labor laws which absolutely forbid the union shop. One UMW spokesman, asked for suggested amendments to the T-H law, said the only sensible amendment was to "strike out the enacting clause."

DRAWING BY NEUWIRTH

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

WITCHES, WARLOCKS AND WIZARDS

by James R. Newman

IT IS PERHAPS not surprising that we fail to acknowledge the debt we owe to magic. One reason is that the relation among magic, science and religion is imperfectly understood; another is that it goes against the grain to admit the extent to which ancient fears, ignorance and superstition continue to shape our actions. A study of the place of magic in intellectual development is a worthy undertaking in itself. In confused and unreasoning times it is especially appropriate to examine the persistent human inclination to magical practices and beliefs.

Unfortunately, Kurt Seligmann's *The Mirror of Magic* (Pantheon Books; $8.50), a large, well-illustrated history of magic by a surrealist painter who has made a scholarly hobby of the occult—and has not, I judge, escaped unsmitten—does not fulfill the need for general enlightenment. As a popular catalogue of the magical arts, it is adequate and, in small doses, entertaining. As an account of magic's contribution to scientific and cultural development and of the enduring influence of magic on social ideas and behavior, it is altogether superficial. Those drawn to the subject—and it is hard to imagine anyone not in that category slogging through Seligmann's 500 pages—had best turn to the works of Thorndike, Frazer, or Kittredge.

Among anthropologists, psychologists and historians of science who have studied the evolution of magic, there is, as one might expect, little agreement as to its exact relationship to religion and science. Sir William Dampier makes a rough differentiation which avoids some of the brambles of controversy. "Magic," he says, "attempts to compel outward things to obey man's will." Religion, in primitive form, enlists the help of God or gods to achieve the same purpose. Science, on the other hand, observes the way things behave in nature and then seeks by obedience to these laws to adapt natural forces to men's needs.

A single instance may illustrate the basic differences. Frogs croak when it rains; the savage, therefore, dresses as a frog and imitates its croak in order to bring rain. (That "like produces like" is a fundamental principle of magic.) The cognate belief that nature is ruled by a stern but loving parent who will grant favors if properly bidden leads religious men to pray for rain. Science on its part strives by various means—windmills, dams, reservoirs and, recently, artificial rainfall—to make man independent of the irregularities of weather. One hears often of the "triumph of invention," but one seldom hears it accurately described. The triumph of invention, I think it should be said, is not the success of the invention itself but rather the final realization that the physical world will sometimes yield to the inventor but never to the conjurer or theologian.

Seligmann emphasizes correctly the role of magic in shaping the Mosaic and Christian religions. Its legacies and effects are everywhere: in religious tenets, in ritual and ceremony, in the scripture, in natural, revealed, dogmatic and speculative theology. Inevitably, organized religion came to oppose the mystery religions and magic as "illicit tampering with God's power" and, more practically, as threats to its established authority.

While the Church was strong and its supreme position unchallenged, it was inclined to be lenient. Magic was forbidden, but the penalties for practising it were not severe. As the authority of the Church weakened, with the coming of the Reformation and widespread upheavals in the social order, the edicts against sorcery, alchemy and the like became stern. Protestants, no less than Catholics, elaborated the arts of torture and persecution. In witch-burning, temporal and spiritual leaders alike discovered an effective means for disposing of dissidents while agreeably diverting the public mind. Estimates differ as to the number of men, women and children who were incinerated during the two centuries of Europe's witch-hunting orgies, but three-quarters of a million is a conservative figure.

From the great basin of the magical arts issued innumerable small streams which, after centuries of sluggish flow, widened into the rivers of science. Astrology became astronomy; alchemy, chemistry, whose origins are traced to Hellenistic Alexandria in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. And in the number magic and mysticism of the Pythagorean school lay the kernels of many of the basic concepts of mathematics. In fact, although the idea appealed to them primarily as a part of their mystic cosmology, the Pythagoreans may be credited with the invention of the abstract concept of number, perhaps the single most useful and important advance in the history of science.

It would, of course, be incorrect to infer from these examples that magic itself was an early version of what we define as science. As Lynn Thorndike has pointed out in his monumental *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, the "growth of magical superstition" coincides with a decline in straightforward scientific pursuits, and science has usually moved against and not on the tide of magical beliefs. And yet magic undoubtedly stimulated and enriched the observational and experimental method; like Goethe's Mephistopheles, it was often a force for good and reason where it

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MOLOCH (1652) FROM "THE MIRROR OF MAGIC"

intended only evil and unreason; and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that man had to pass through a magical phase, and to outgrow it, before he could cross the threshold of science.

Strange names, grotesque practices, uncommon objects, and common objects used in uncommon ways crowd the pages of Seligmann's story. There is a sameness about the branches of magic which makes the subject as a whole unendurably dull. Under this handicap, Seligmann does surprisingly well. One learns of necromancy (especially through wonderful passages from the Egyptian Book of the Dead); of the virtues of various talismen; of the potency of the Word; of Osiris, Asmodeus, Zoroaster, Beelzebub and the Sphinx; of geomancy, astrology, alchemy, lycanthropy, horoscopy; of divination by moles and warts. Included in the wherewithal of the arcane arts are philtres, fauns, homunculi, incubi, succubi, werewolves, vampires, moles (the kind that move underground), and an assortment of hearts, spleens, livers, eyelashes and entrails (preferably quivering).

Over this conglomerate paraphernalia broods fear, terror, dark loneliness and a sense of human powerlessness in the face of evil—yet also a contradictory sense of human power to placate the gods, exorcise demons, raise the dead, move mountains, cure the sick, cheat the devil, make gold, recapture the past and determine the future. Above everything there is an identification with the swarm and slime and infinite variety of nature.

One disquieting fact forced itself upon me repeatedly throughout the book. I realized as never before to what extent the worst tendencies of magic, exhibited in the persecution of witches, still flourish in the world today. We do not, to be sure, practise torture in quite the same way, but the improvements do us no honor. Men are today pilloried for their opinions no less than was Paracelsus. We are more in thrall of the word than was the most gullible sorcerer's apprentice. Social and political heresies are as ruthlessly ferreted out by legislative committees as were theological heresies by the inquisitorial commissions of Rome. The *auto-da-fe*, while less severe, is no less malignant. Men and women were once condemned on the proof that they were related to witches or too friendly with them. Today we have our Virden cases and the doctrine of guilt by remote consaguinity, not to say of guilt by association.

"Give me two lines written by a man," said the seventeenth-century Councilor of France, Lombardemont, "and I will hang him." We have officials who would do more with less. Under the Salic Law of the Franks, the punishment for sorcering was "One year of penance, if he is a clown of low estate; if he be of a higher degree, ten years." Contemporary justice is inclined to reverse the Salic principle. Clovis I decreed heavier punishment for those who unjustly defamed a person by calling her (or him) a witch than for witchcraft itself; Parnell I makes it the custom to libel first, and look for proof later.

There is excellent material in this manual for legislative committees, loyalty boards, and our various intelligence corps, investigators and secret policemen. Those of us not so engaged would do well to take notice of the concluding lines of the famous "Essay on Witchcraft" (1718) by Francis Hutchinson:

> I have shown plainly that accusing and prosecuting and hanging in that case does not cure but increases the evil; and that when a nation of people are in such a state, they are under a very great calamity.

SECOND WAVE

OF FLIGHT AND LIFE, by Charles A. Lindbergh (Charles Scribner's Sons; $1.50).

THE ENIGMATIC figure of Charles A. Lindbergh returns to the public gaze in a curious little book of just 56 pages, called *Of Flight and Life*. Brief as it is, the silence-breaking Lindbergh essay is many things, all of them vague, uncertain and not a little mystical. *Of Flight and Life* is at once an *apologia pro vita sua*, an at least partial sticking to his political guns, a renunciation of scientific materialism, an appeal for spiritual values, a dismissal of the United Nations, a quick glance of alarm at the multitudes of the East, a plea for America to set a good example to the world, an alarmed shudder at Russia, and a questioning of the idea of the equality of man.

It begins, rather like St. Exupery,

(Continued on page 26)

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As television comes of age, radio, motion-pictures and newspapers face a dangerous rival. Should we govern television with the same rules and regulations now applied to radio? What will happen if we give it free rein? For the answers read—

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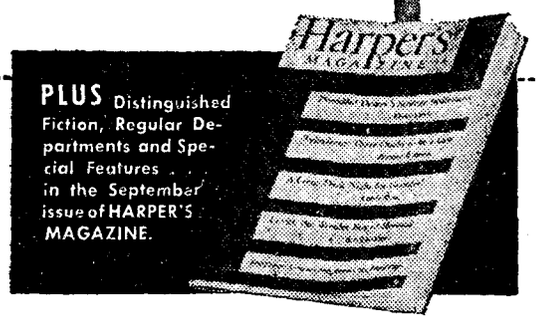
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(Continued from page 24)

with a personal account of the mysticism of flight, and it ends—like Lindbergh—with thoughts somewhat mellowed by a *post-facto* realization that science is not enough and that the Germans were, after all, ruthless devotees of destructive materialism. Through it all, the impression holds that Charles Augustus Lindbergh remains a vague, uncertain and extremely questionable guide for Americans seeking a path through a world of hatred, bitterness and confusion.

To take just one point—he repeatedly refers to the Chinese philosopher Lao-tse and to the philosophical wisdom of the East with such admiration that one comes to suspect that he may have suddenly become a convert to the Orient. But then you find him plunging back to his ancient theme of the menace of the East. Indeed, those Asiatic masses play an important and, of course, sinister part in his suspicion of the United Nations and a potential world government. In such an association, he points out, it is not right to give one vote, say, to Costa Rica, and only one to the US with nearly 300 times its population.

> But if we apportion votes according to the number of inhabitants a country has, then leadership would pass from our Western peoples, who have built this civilization, to the great masses of Asia. The high birth-rates of ignorance would outvote the low birth-rates of education, and the weapons of Western science, from aircraft to the atomic bomb, would be controlled by the desires of the East. Based on the literal equality of man, Japan, China and India would have nearly four times the influence of the United States, Great Britain and France. Voting strength and fighting strength would be torn apart with the inevitable result of revolution and war.

Although it is the mass ignorance and political backwardness of the East that he fears, there is certainly no evidence that the social and political awakening of those same masses has attracted his interest or sympathy. Everything he says suggests that an Asia reborn through the rise of democratic nationalism in China, India, Indonesia and Burma is as repugnant to him as a sleeping and slavish Orient; it is the very idea of the Far East and its multitudes, ignorant or awakened, that he mistrusts. Obviously the word "equality" bothers him. "We cannot," he says, "escape the fact that our civilization was built, and still depends, upon the quality rather than the equality of men. Progress and quality are inseparable." He puts it even stronger than that: "For Americans, the doctrine of universal equality is a doctrine of death." It is possible to follow and applaud him when he pleads that it is our duty to set an example of democracy for the world. "The improvement of our way of life is more important than the spreading of it. If we make it satisfactory enough, it will spread automatically. If we do not, no strength of arms can permanently impose it. In the final analysis, our future depends upon ourselves, our ability, our character, our ideals."

He is on as sound ground when he insists that science in itself, with no moral or social aim, means not salvation but destruction, and that "spiritual truth is more essential to a nation than the mortar in its cities' walls." Recalling his earlier expression of sympathy for Hitler's Germany, it is cheering to hear him, after advocating a balance between scientific knowledge and spiritual values, say of the Germans: "With science they felt they could be supermen; they could rule the earth. . . . Instead of balancing science with other fields of wisdom, they had let it dominate them, turned it loose in war and conquest. In their search for materialistic power, they had set up science as their god, and science had destroyed them."

There is every reason to applaud him when he is courageous enough to admit that what once seemed to him "the wave of the future" does not look so well in retrospect. And there is reason to agree with him when he says that "a philosophy, like human life itself, cannot be imprisoned in a formula of words. It must be living, growing, changing."

In all of this there is indication of a Lindbergh who has been candid and magnanimous enough to learn from bitter experience. Unfortunately, there is even more evidence that the changes are only superficial.

There is still the belief that we should and could have continued to remain neutral in the Second World War, that a negotiated peace between Germany and Britain might have put an end to what he sees as the graver menace of Russia. It is clear that he regards the current situation between the US and the USSR as the final justification for his belief that we could have gotten along with Hitler.

When he talks about the need for quality in our civilization, it sounds fine enough at the start, but soon rambles off into something strangely like the American Century, with all its implied national arrogance. In the end, the mysticism, with all its eloquent appeal for an agreement between science and spiritual values, seems shallow, a little pompous and essentially devoted to a defense of practical American power domination. It is the same Charles A. Lindbergh.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

WORTH REPRINTING

NIGHT RIDER, by Robert Penn Warren (Random House; $3).

THIS IS A LARGE and rich book, but I find that any account of its wealth becomes an enumeration of separate excellences. The larger action concerns an attempt by the tobacco growers of southern Kentucky in the early part of the century to form a protective association against the buyers. It begins as a concerted refusal to sell the crop below a stipulated price, but subtly changes its direction when bands of night riders scrape the tobacco beds of farmers hostile to the association. The violence grows slowly, almost regretfully, as warehouses are dynamited in reply to barns burnt, until the night riders are dispensing retributive justice as a lynch mob.

The author deals easily with this story of men and affairs. The values are deeply fixed in the land: the crops and the seasons, the woods, the creeks,

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the houses ("my place"). Politics is a passion; oratory is fascinating to the men, "having a love for the beautiful and eloquent word." This love fosters a full, colloquial speech, beautifully recorded here, and a wealth of anecdote and legend. The tone of this intensely masculine life is a certain braggadocio, conveying at times a gallantry and self-deprecating wisdom: "People are damned fools in different ways. They got different stuff in them." The worth of a man, as he might be judged by companions in arms, is a reiterated point in the book, everyone is tested and assessed:

> One way or another, that's what a man does. What's in him. A man goes along, and the time comes, even if he's looking the other way not noticing, and the thing in him comes out. It wasn't something happening to him made him do something, the thing that was in him all the time. He just didn't know. Till the time came.

This traditional agrarian society is naturally keen to a sense of the past: "The things you remembered, they were what you were." At best, this is the source of a continuous, revivifying wisdom, for "out of memory rises the notion of a positive and purposive future, the revision of the past." At worst, the past is a dead burden, inescapable and exhausting: "The acts remained, irreversible in their consequences and not to be undone, but the impulse, the desire, the purpose, had gone. It was hard sometimes to guess what they had been."

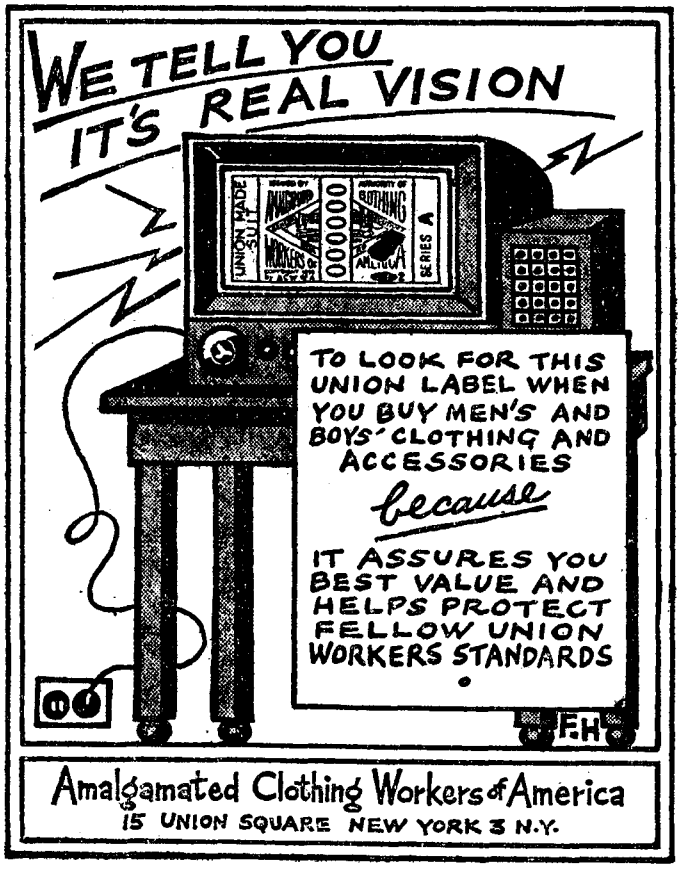
Against this "rich and fundamental store" of the common experience is placed Percy Munn, an intelligent, introspective young lawyer, obsessed by the separateness of individual experience, the uniqueness of the personal vision of life: "the truths of the others, they were not his own." In musing over a farm woman, "he understood her to be complete and individual, the center of a world as real and important as the world he knew concentric to himself."

Of his wife, he says to himself: "But what was she? She was a certain form, certain words to which he was accustomed and which pretended to tell him of some reality within himself. What that was, what she truly was, he did not know." His purpose is not to isolate himself still further, but to achieve "a fuller penetration and knowledge" of his own life in its relation to others about it. For "his past seemed as placeless and as unstable as a puff of smoke, and his future meaningless, unless . . . he might by some unnamable single heroic stroke discover the unifying fulfillment."

He fails to discover it and, since his quest is the theme of the novel, the elements of the story fail to relate, as I suggested at the beginning of this review, and lie within the context of the book as scattered beauties and curiosities. I don't mean, of course, that personal failure isn't a "unifying" theme, but in this case the failure is insufficiently accounted for and baffles and wearies the reader. It is certainly explicit: "What was the center of his life . . . he could not say"; and it is buttressed by such convincing metaphors as: "He did not have the seed of the future in himself, the live germ. It had shriveled up and died." And "because the future was dead and rotten in his breast, the past, too, which once had seemed to him to have its meanings and its pattern, began to fall apart, act by act, incident by incident, thought by thought, each item into brutish separateness."

But the failure doesn't take place inside the book; it is only reflected here. What we see is an honest and intelligent man, with the highest intentions, doing as he thought right and doing as the men he most admired were doing, and somehow coming to chaos, a hunted outlaw who knew he was "nothing." We don't know whether it is some personal flaw that prevents him from breaking through to the common life, or whether that life in that place is itself corrupt and betrays him.

JOHN FARRELLY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MUSIC: Rossini at Tanglewood

HAVING BROUGHT Benjamin Britten's "Peter Grimes" to America in 1946, and rescued Mozart's noble "Idomeneo" from complete neglect in 1947, the opera department of the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood had a reputation to sustain in picking out a work for production this summer. Back in midwinter, professional gossip reported that a musical version of Lillian Hellman's "The Little Foxes" by Marc Blitzstein would be the choice. But Blitzstein did not finish his score in time for adequate preparation, and furthermore he sold the rights to Cheryl Crawford for Broadway production sometime this autumn.

When Rossini's "The Turk in Italy" was finally announced as this year's Tanglewood project, the prospect quickened few musical pulses. Except for "The Barber of Seville" and the Overture to "William Tell," both of which are scorned by the intelligentsia, Rossini is a forgotten composer. The resuscitation of one of his most obscure works, a failure even at its first performance in 1814, looked like a fruitless venture in musicological research.

But at the Tanglewood première (the first American performance of the opera since 1840) scoffers were converted in the first half-hour. The music bubbled and rippled and tossed out gay festoons of florid melody; the plot situations maintained an unbroken crescendo of hilarity; the English text was blithe and gay, devoid of the stilted versification that is the curse of nearly every translated opera.

To be sure, the Milan audience of 1814 would scarcely recognize the work in its present form, for Boris Goldovsky, director of the Tanglewood opera school, retailored it extensively to make it measure up to modern theatrical standards. Since Rossini himself wrote three widely different versions, revising the opera radically each time it was presented in a new place, Goldovsky felt justified in reshuffling the numbers and sharpening the plot. He lifted the minor figure of a poet into the central role, gave the story a straight and effective line, and wrote a brand-new trick ending. He composed new recitatives, in the style of Rossini, to fit the new text. But all the arias, duets and ensembles are left exactly as Rossini wrote them, though there are some cuts, as well as some orchestrations (by Helmuth Wolfes) of passages for which original scores no longer exist in any library.

Without sacrificing the spirit of early nineteenth-century *opera bouffe*, Goldovsky has transformed "The Turk in Italy" into a satire of the period farce of which it is representative. Taking the audience into his confidence in a prologue, the poet explains that he is about to work out a new drama before their eyes. Nothing can be better, he avers, than a triangular intrigue involving a fatuous old husband, a flirtatious young wife and an ardent lover. One by one he brings out the characters attached to wires like puppets, loosens them and sets them in action. Obviously the play will unreel itself effortlessly if the triangular formula can be depended upon. But a Turk, landing on the shores of Italy for completely baffling reasons, and a gypsy girl, of equally vague origins, enter the scene, to the complete surprise and dismay of the poet.

For the rest of the evening the audience shares his bewilderment as his neat three-sided plot is distorted into a wild and unpredictable pentagon. The climactic scene, at a masquerade, with the three men dressed in identical Turkish costumes and the two girls in identical candy-striped dresses, is as absurd and diverting a melee as you will find on the operatic stage.

Probably not even Goldovsky himself knows quite how he managed to

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turn so complicated a trick so successfully. Everything is impeccable in taste, yet hearty and immediate in humor; charm and ribaldry are delicately balanced. The physical production was a more complete success than either of Tanglewood's two predecessors. The staging was simple but handsome, with no trace of artiness, and the student cast acted with admirable ensemble and style. If the singing revealed no potential major artists like Frances Yeend in "Peter Grimes" and Anne Bollinger in "Idomeneo," it was at least always lively, pleasant and reasonably capable in the execution of the florid figurations.

Two days before the opera, Serge Koussevitzky conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the first American performance of the Sixth Symphony by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who at 75 is one of England's most honored composers. A big work and a highly serious one, the symphony aroused sharply divided opinions. I found its first three movements academic and sterile, devoted mostly to the reworking of technical devices which had produced more spontaneous results in earlier works. The finale is remarkable. It is 12 minutes long and never rises above a pianissimo, as it carries a single, unostentatious theme through a series of contrapuntal events to a resigned conclusion. It is like the valedictory of an orator who realizes, after a lifetime of rhetoric and elocution, that no other manner of speaking can equal the power of hushed understatement. In the Sixth Symphony the result is disquieting, for the superior effectiveness of the finale makes the storm and stress of the earlier movements seem hardly worth the trouble.

CECIL SMITH

RADIO: Pipeline to Washington

Saul Carson is in Europe, and during his absence several men directly concerned with various aspects of broadcasting have very kindly agreed to substitute for him. The first of these is Clifford J. Durr, who recently declined President Truman's offer of reappointment to the Federal Communications Commission after serving on that body for nearly seven years.

WHILE I HAVE NOT wholly refrained from expressing my views during the past few years, the role of columnist is a new one for me, and I am not sure that I know how to go about it. Out of regard for the reputation of my sponsor and in deference to the traditions of radio, I suppose I should start off by saying that the ideas I am expressing are entirely my own and do not necessarily represent the views of Saul Carson.

Although I shall not here assume the character of radio critic, I should like to tip my hat to the members of this comparatively new but important profession and say, "May their tribe increase." How well radio serves the public depends in large part upon the public's awareness of its stake in this vital medium of communication. The critics have played a useful function in fostering and channeling this awareness, and the function will, in my opinion, be one of growing importance.

The reference to this aspect of the radio critic's role brings me back to a theme on which I harped considerably during my term as a member of the Federal Communications Commission: namely, the problem of exposure of broadcasters and the FCC to the public for whom they are supposed to be working. I cannot testify from first-hand experience as to what makes a broadcaster tick, but I have frequently suspected that, as people, they are not basically very different from FCC commissioners.

Speaking from nearly seven years' experience with the FCC, I can say that the members of that organization —including myself as an ex-member —are noticeably affected by their "associations" and "affiliations," if I may borrow a couple of words from our "loyalty" experts. They do not operate in a vacuum, and I can assure you that

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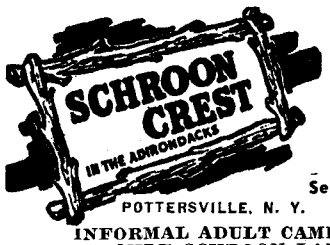

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if any such vacuum should occur there would be plenty of volunteers ready to fill it. Important policies seldom spring fullgrown from the mind of any one member of the Commission, however fertile that mind may be. The seeds have to be planted first, and what kind they are depends upon who plants them.

Most commissioners, like most other people—and I don't except broadcasters—want to do an honest and competent job. They want to safeguard the public interest in accordance with the mandate given them by Congress. But what is the public interest?

It would be a simple matter if the Commission could turn to the public itself as the final authority on the subject, but unfortunately the public is pretty well occupied with its daily tasks of running grocery stores, jerking sodas, driving trucks, farming, teaching school and raising children. The visits of its members to Washington, if they come at all, are more likely to be prompted by a desire to see the cherry blossoms or the Washington Monument than to advise the Commission on allocating the radio spectrum or enforcing the program standards of the "Blue Book."

The Commission does not see much of these members of the public, but it does spend quite a lot of time with that small segment of the public whose interest in radio is of a business or technical nature—licensees and would-be licensees and their lawyers and engineers. It sees much less of the people who prepare the program fare which the public is served—the radio writers, directors, actors and musicians.

Often enough, the interests of the broadcast licensees and of the public coincide. Sometimes, unhappily, they do not. It is understandable that the requirements of the truck drivers, soda jerks, farmers and housewives—or even of the radio writers, directors, actors and musicians—may grow dim. They are so seldom in the immediate line of sight.

Several months ago, the FCC conducted a hearing on the so-called Mayflower Doctrine, the issue of whether radio-station licensees should be permitted to editorialize over their own stations. The issue is an important one. The Commission still has the matter under advisement, and I do not know what the decision will be.

But important as that decision is to the whole future of broadcasting, the hearing itself was, to my way of thinking, of even greater significance. Public witnesses in numbers appeared and had their say—representatives of labor unions, farm and religious organizations, teachers and others. Their statements—starting from the basic premise that radio frequencies are part of the public domain and that hence, in shaping radio policies, the public interests must be paramount—were, on the whole, carefully thought out and intelligently delivered. For the first time I can recall, since I have been a member of the Commission, radio writers, directors, actors, musicians and radio operators showed up at a public hearing and said in effect, "We are the people who make radio function. Here are the things we know from our own experience. This is what we think." That, it seems to me, is as important to the future of radio as any new technological development that may come out of the laboratories.

There is much to be said for a law which would require every federal "bureaucrat" to spend at least three months of every year away from Washington exposed to the people he is hired to serve. However, as none of the major political parties has included any such measure in its platform, I don't suppose we can look for its early adoption.

Meanwhile, the radio critics can help provide an increasing amount of the kind of exposure I have been talking about. The criticism of individual programs is a useful function, but it is not enough. The critics should constantly remind their readers to remind the broadcaster and the FCC that "our stake in radio is paramount," and to say, "Here's what we want. Here's what we think."

CLIFFORD J. DURR

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THEATRE: Auld Lang Syne

I SOMETIMES IMAGINE that there are no theatregoers over 30. It is true that one occasionally sees people at the theatre who might be old enough to remember Richard Mansfield and the New York of "Life with Father," but generally I have the feeling that even these people have no memory or affection for any play earlier than "The Glass Menagerie."

Who but George Jean Nathan or an antiquarian can tell you anything about Bronson Howard, Clyde Fitch, William Vaughn Moody or Augustus Thomas? Yet these names were once more imposing than those of Maxwell Anderson, S. N. Behrman, Robert Sherwood or Elmer Rice. How many of the audiences that flocked to dote on Ingrid Bergman in "Joan of Lorraine" could tell you anything about Margaret Anglin, Marjorie Rambeau, Margaret Lawrence?

Theatrical opinions consist mostly of chitchat and publicity; they are rarely challenged for more than a season. We have no repertory theatres where the old successes may be reconsidered. The American theatre is always in the process of killing its past. New movies are the gravestones we build over our old plays.

I say all this because last week I attended a showing of Langdon Mitchell's "The New York Idea," a Broadway success of 1906, given by the group known as On-Stage. In presenting "a cavalcade of great American hits" ranging from Royall Tyler's "The Contrast" (the first American comedy) to "Peg O' My Heart" and "The Bat" in a Fifth Avenue auditorium hardly bigger than your sitting-room, On-Stage is performing a real service.

The original company of "The New York Idea" included Mrs. Fiske, Emily Stevens, George Arliss and Dudley Digges. They were all exciting stage personalities. The show must have been a treat not "for their time," as fools put it, but for any time. Vividness, sparkle, address, are always contemporary. But see if you can list a company today that would match the original cast.

I do not mean that we have no actors now as gifted as those of 1906, but how many young people on our stage at present can command the particular style required for this sort of comedy of manners? When "Lady Windemere's Fan" was done here two seasons ago, there were not more than two or three people in the play who were better than adequate—and they were all English.

In Paris you can still see nineteenth-century war horses—plays like those of Labiche, Augier, Pailleron, the younger Dumas—done in a manner that gives one a sense of their period and of their savor. With us the equivalents of such plays are either never done at all or done as a kind of joke in which we are invited to enjoy our superiority over the past.

As a matter of fact, "The New York Idea" is a frequently witty, literate, urbane stage piece with things to say about American women, marriage and divorce that are not as dated as you might suppose. Of course, it shows its age—why shouldn't it?—but its age lends it a certain charm to which a company of actors as deft as Ina Claire could give a precious glow.

The reason it would be difficult to assemble a company with the bright delivery, grace, humor, attractiveness and poise of an Ina Claire is not that such talent is always rare or that present social conditions do not foster these qualities, but that our stage today has lost the means of *training* people to approximate them. A haphazard theatre cannot perpetuate the feeling for tradition or style.

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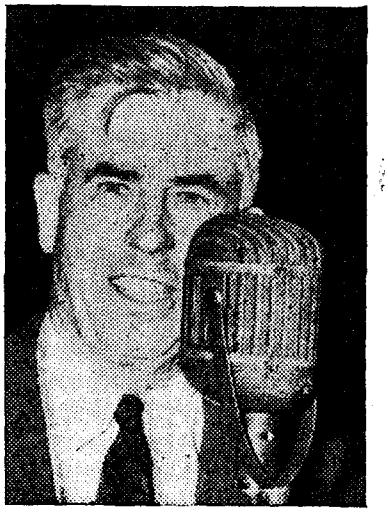

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